

POL
6-1-68

27

BIAFR A -NIGERIA

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW
☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/classify to
☒ Declassify with NO RESTRICTIONS
EO 12958, 25X
FPC/HDR by 195 Date: 3/21/56
Withdrawal No. _____

0825

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 950/503
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

63

7

SECRET 145

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02183 020646Z

19

ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, /070 W

O P 301148Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 2943
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBARA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 2183

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

LIMDIS

SUBJ: ENCOURAGING BIAFRAN REALISM

REF: STATE 191809 AND 193968 LUSAKA 2171

FROM EDMONDSON, DCM

1. SAW MFA PERMSEC MULIKITA YESTERDAY (CHONA HAS APPARENTLY PRECEDED KAUNDA ON SCANDANAVIAN TOUR) AND MADE PRESENTATION ALONG LINES: STATE 191809 AND KINSHASA 9970. HE LISTENED ATTENTATIVELY AND AFTERWARD SAID HE WOULD SEE IF HE COULD GET MOMENT FOR DCM: SEE EITHER KAUNDA OR FORMIN: KAMANGA BEFORE THEY LEAVE MONDAY.

2. MULIKITA'S COMMENT ON SUBSTANCE: PRESENTATION HIT ONLY 2 POINTS, BOTH REFLECTING VIEWS ATTRIBUTED TO KAUNDA AND OTHER SENIOR POLITICIANS HERE:

- A. HE SAID WAR SEEMED TO HAVE BECOME RELIGIOUS ONE, NOTING VAR SUPPORT FOR FMG BECAUSE OF MOSLEM NORTH.
- B. HE THOUGH BRITAIN WAS MAJOR CULPRIT, AS IT WAS CONTINUING SUPPLY ARMS TO NIGERIA, AND HE ASSUMED UK "WAS AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN IBOS."

3. DCM RESPONDED THAT WHILE RELIGIOUS ASPECT HAD ALWAYS BEEN PRESENT IN VAR-NIGERIAN RELATIONSHIP, IT NOT REALLY CORRECT CHARACTERIZE

SECRET

Lusaka 2183
6/30/68

DECLASSIFIED BY 10/20/05

0826

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

7

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02183 020646Z

WAR AS RELIGIOUS SINCE TRIBAL ANTAGONISMS PLAYED FAR GREATER ROLE THAN RELIGION. NOTED THAT GOWON, THOUGH NORTHERNER, WAS CHRISTIAN, THAT ABOUT THIRD OF WESTERN REGION YORUBA WERE PROBABLY CHRISTIAN, MANY MIDDLE BELT NORTHERNERS WERE CHRISTIAN, ETC.

4. DCM POINTED OUT THAT BRITISH HAD BEEN TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE MATERIALS, BUT THAT LITTLE MENTION HAD BEEN MADE LOCALLY OF ROLE PLAYED BY USSR IN SUPPLYING SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT FOR USE AGAINST BIAFRA. (ALSO EXPLAINED OUR APPLICATION OF CONTE-LONG AMENDMENT ON AID.) WAS UNABLE ANSWER HIS QUESTION AS TO WHETHER USG HAD EVER MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO UK ABOUT ARMS SUPPLY. SAID I BELIEVED NOT, FOR REASON CITED ABOVE, BUT WOULD SEEK MORE INFORMATION.

5. WOULD APPRECIATE CONCISE TALKING POINTS ON RELIGIOUS WAR QUESTION AND US VIEW ON UK ARMS SUPPLY AS KAUNDA OR KAMANGA LIKELY RAISE THESE POINTS IF INTERVIEW COMES OFF. BELIEVE CHANCES ARE THEY WILL BE TOO BUSY, BUT TALKING POINTS WOULD BE HELPFUL IF AMBASSADOR (RETURNING JULY 1 OR 2) SEES VICE PRESIDENT KAPWEPWEI LATER.

GP-3
GOOD

SECRET

0827

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screened 2

POST 2 USAKA

SERIAL 2183

(Time Received)

1968 JUL 2 AM 4 54

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 21

Secretariat

S/S-S 4
S/S-O 4
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX 3
S/S-CMS 3
S/S-O DIR 3
MilRep 3
Summary 3
Task Force 3

Geographic

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 9
NEA 7

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

CU
E 2
H 1
IGA
INR 6
IO4 4
L2 2
O3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P 2
SCA
SCS
SCT

PC
VP
AEC 3
AGR 3
COM 2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
STR
TRANS
TRSY 6
JUS
IRS
INT
BOB
FBI
CEA
FAA

Principals

ES 2 7
S 7
U 7
M 2 7
G 7

SIG
S/AH 3
S/AL

S/CPR
S/GOV 1
S/IL
S/P 1
S/R
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP

G/PM
G/DP

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10
CIA 1
DOD 1
USIA 4 P
NSA

File
Burned

0828

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Authority VND 954503
By MNA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State TELEGRAM

XR POL 3 09V

28

Niamey 1953
6-30-68

CONFIDENTIAL 117

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01953 301132Z

42
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, OODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, PI 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, E 15, RSR 01,

/158 W

R 300800Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1927
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADOIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 1953

INSPECTEUR D'ETAT MAI MAIGANA INFORME MEI THIS MORNING
GON STILL AWAITING FINAL DECISIONS ON DATE FOR SCHEDULED
NIAMEY OAU CONSULTATIVE MEETING. SAID CHIEF PROTOCOL WHO
WITH OIORI IN SUDAN, AND MAY HAVE LATER WORD THAN GON
STAFF HERE, WILL RETURN NIAMEY OVER WEEKEND TO WORK OUT
FINAL ARRANGEMENTS CONFERENCE. MAIGANA INDICATED GON ALSO
AWAITING WORD FROM MONROVIA ON SIZE AND COMPOSITION ITS
DELEGATION. DIORI SCHEDULED RETURN NIAMEY FROM CONGO-K
JULY 2 OR 3.

VIEW PALMER-DIORI AND MY SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH DIORI
ON NIGERIA-BIAFRA TO WHAT EXTENT DOES DEPT WISH MEI GIVE OIORI
COMPLETE RUNDOWN BRITISH TALKS LAGOS AND OTHER CURRENT INFORMATION
PERTAINING POSSIBILITY RESUMPTION TALKS, ETC. ALSO POSSIBLE ASST
SEC PALMER WILL SEE DIORI DURING CONGO-K INDEPENDENCE DAY
FESTIVITIES OVER WEEKEND, IN WHICH EVENT FULL INI OIORI HERE
MIGHT BE UNNECESSARY.

GP-3 RYAN

2

CONFIDENTIAL

0829

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

63

Q DEF 12-5 NIGERIA

SECRET 162 POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02183 301510Z

45 42 S
ACTION AF 15

INFO SSO: 00, USIE: 00, SAH 02, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, GPM: 04, H: 02, INRI: 07, L: 03,

NSAE: 00, NSC: 10, P: 04, RSC: 01, SP: 02, SS: 20, IO: 13, AID: 28, ACDA: 16,

EUR: 15, NIC: 01, NSCE: 00, CCO: 00, RSR: 01, 144 W

O P 301148Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 2943
INFO ABIDJAN PRIORITY 23:
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBARA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

SECRET

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LUSAKA 2183

SUBJ: ENCOURAGING BIAFRAN REALISM
REF: STATE 191809 AND 193968 LUSAKA 2171

FROM EDMONDSON, DCM
1. SAW MFA PERMSEC MULIKITA YESTERDAY (CHONA HAS APPARENTLY PRECEDED KAUNDA ON SCANDANAVIAN TOUR) AND MADE PRESENTATION ALONG LINES: STATE 191809 AND KINSHASA 9970. HE LISTENED ATTENTATIVELY AND AFTERWARD SAID HE WOULD SEE IF HE COULD GET MOMENT FOR DCM-SEE EITHER KAUNDA OR FORMIN KAMWOLA BEFORE THEY LEAVE MONDAY.

2. MULIKITA'S COMMENT ON SUBSTANCE PRESENTATION HIT ONLY 2 POINTS, BOTH REFLECTING VIEWS ATTRIBUTED TO KAUNDA AND OTHER SENIOR POLITICIANS HERE:

- A. HE SAID WAR SEEMED TO HAVE BECOME RELIGIOUS ONE, NOTING VAR SUPPORT FOR FMG BECAUSE OF MOSLEM NORTH.
B. HE THOUGHT BRITAIN WAS MAJOR CULPRIT, AS IT WAS CONTINUING SUPPLY ARMS TO NIGERIA, AND HE ASSUMED UK "WAS AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN BOYCOT".

3. DCM RESPONDED THAT WHILE RELIGIOUS ASPECT HAD ALWAYS BEEN PRESENT

SECRET

0830

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02183 301510Z

IN VAR-NIGERIAN RELATIONSHIP, IT NOT REALLY CORRECT CHARACTERIZE WAR AS RELIGIOUS SINCE TRIBAL ANTAGONISMS PLAYED FAR GREATER ROLE THAN RELIGION. NOTED THAT MLOWON, THOUGH NORTHERNER, WAS CHRISTIAN, THAT ABOUT THIRD OF WESTERN REGION YORUBA WERE PROBABLY CHRISTIAN, MANY MIDDLE BELT NORTHERNERS WERE CHRISTIAN, ETC.

4. DCM POINTED OUT THAT BRITISH HAD BEEN TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE MATERIALS, BUT THAT LITTLE MENTION HAD BEEN MADE LOCALLY OF ROLE PLAYED BY USSR IN SUPPLYING SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT FOR USE AGAINST THE AREA. (ALSO EXPLAINED OUR APPLICATION OF CONTE-LONG AMENDMENT ON AID.) WAS UNABLE ANSWER HIS QUESTION AS TO WHETHER USG HAD EVER MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO UK ABOUT ARMS SUPPLY. SAID I BELIEVED NOT, FOR REASON CITE ABOVE, BUT WOULD SEEK MORE INFORMATION.

5. WOULD APPRECIATE CONCISE TALKING POINTS ON RELIGIOUS WAR QUESTION AND US VIEW ON UK ARMS SUPPLIES. KAUNDA OR KAMANGA LIKELY RAISE THESE POINTS IF INTERVIEW COMES OFF. BELIEVE CHANCES ARE THEY WILL BE TOO BUSY, BUT TALKING POINTS WOULD BE HELPFUL IF AMBASSADOR (RETURNING JULY 1 OR 2) SEES VICE PRESIDENT KAPWEPWE LATER.
GP-3
GOOD

SECRET

0831

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

63

Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
193968

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Classification

29 JUN 68 15 50Z
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Origin ACTION: AmEmbassy LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

Info: INFO: AmEmbassy BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
Abidjan
Dar es Salaam
Lagos
Libreville
Niamey
Yaounde

STATE:

REF: Lusaka 2171
Bujumbura for Palmer
Department concurs with approaches proposed para 2 reftel.

Suggest Ambassador consider advisability following up with
Kapwepwe on his return.

End.

Approved by: [Signature]

RUSK

Drafted by:

AFW:AMHardy:ac

Tel. Ext.

6402

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AFSE - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

AFSE - EHolmes (in draft)

AF - THEQuimby (in substance)

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Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0832

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Authority VND 950503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 844.

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10417 291332Z

45
ACTION AF 15

INFO AID 28, ACDA 16, IO 13, EUR 15, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, RSR 01,

/157 W

R 291255Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1306
AMCONSUL KADUNA
INFO AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
CINCSRIKE CINCPACAFSA
DIA
AMCOSUL IBADAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 10417

SUBJECT: AZIKWE MESSAGE TO TANZANIA-BIAFRAN ASSOCIATION

1. AZIKWE MESSAGE TO TANZANIA-BIAFRAN ASSOCIATION WAS
BROADCAST JUNE 27 BY RADIO BIAFRA (FBIS ITEM N271800).
IT NOT RPT NOT CLEAR FROM ITEM WHETHER ZIKI PERSONALLY MADE
BROADCAST.

2. GIST OF MESSAGE IS PLAINTIVE REMINDER THAT DESPITE
FORMAL RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE AT ABURI, IBOS HAVE
SINCE "SEEN OUR KITH AND KIN BUTCHERED, EXPERIENCED THE
TERROR OF INDISCRIMINATE SHELLING, THE HORRORS OF RUTHLESS
BOMBING AND SUFFERED THE PANGS OF HUNGER AND WITNESSED THE
DEVASTATION OF OUR HOMES."

3. MESSAGE ENDS WITH WISH THAT ASSOCIATION MAY PROVE "TO BE
A USEFUL INSTRUMENT FOR REINFORCING CAUSE OF PEACEFUL
CO-EXISTENCE AND AN EFFECTIVE MEDIUM FOR STRENGTHENING
FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND THE REST OF THE WORLD"

4. CAN KADUNA DETERMINE IF SPEECH DELIVERED BY ZIKI HIMSELF?

DECON ON RECEIPT. MATHEWS

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Jaeger 10417
6-29-68

REPRODUCED BY 82/3

0833

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

11

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

YR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 93229

DEF 125 BIAFRA

BP 17

28 JUN 68 21 37z

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Origin
Info:

- ACTION:
- Amembassy KAMPALA
 - Amembassy LAGOS
 - Amembassy LISBON
 - Amembassy LONDON
 - Amembassy MADRID
 - Amembassy PARIS
 - Amconsul FRANKFURT
 - Amconsul IBADAN
 - Amconsul KADUNA
 - US MISSION GENEVA

KAMPALA FOR PALMER

1. NYTimes June 28 story datelined Lisbon without byline headed QUOTE
Pilots on Biafra Run Reported Offered Cash to Quit UNQUOTE. Summary follows:
2. For last month pilots of Biafran airlift headquartered Lisbon under
heavy pressure defect with aircraft to Nigeria. Today Henry A. Wharton,
who organized operation year ago and has high stakes in it, was recipient
anonymous phone call from Frankfurt offering \$100,000 for such defection.
Caller mistakenly thought he one of Wharton's pilots. The 46-year-old
German-born American brought out stack tributes to his company for
humanitarian action in Biafra, from World Council Churches, ICRC, Caritas
the Roman Catholic Relief organization and individual churchmen.
3. During defection campaign airlift continuing fly food and medical supplies
with QUOTE only a trickle UNQUOTE of arms now into Biafra. Total five flights
scheduled this week from Lisbon-Biafra, mainly relief supplies from World
Council Churches, including tons medicines, powdered eggs, powdered milk,
canned beef. At same time two or three shuttle flights per night between
Biafra and Sao Tome and Fernando Po.

RECEIVED BY 13A

13

Drafted by: AF/AF/P:RLPerkins:mb	6/28/68	Tel. Ext. 2105	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/P:RLPerkins
Clearances: AFW - Mr. Melbourne			

Rm

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0834

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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Classification

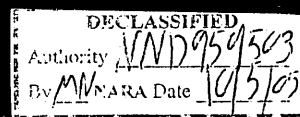
Wharton's North American Aircraft Trading Co. now only company flying in relief, has about 25 engineers and pilots.

4. Recent defection of DC-7 and explosion Super Constellation have not hurt airlift but show FMG determination undermine operation. The DC-7 was not an airlift plane, but bought by French arms dealer Pierre Laures in February from T.D. Keegan of Trans-World Leasing Ltd and Trans-Meridian Companies, London. The well-worn DC-7 after two trips Sao Tome-Biafra grounded Sao Tome for lack of funds, abandoned by Rhodesian and Portuguese crew. Keegan decided repossess plane, sent two American pilots, Red Mettrick and Clyde Arnspiger, both of Miami. On way they stopped Lisbon, ~~where~~ were said have offered Biafran airlift pilots \$55,000 to any who would divert a plane to Nigeria. Pilots who would defect told use code QUOTE Alert Captain Dixon UNQUOTE on arrival Lagos, given list of persons to contact. Would be paid by Lebanese businessman from Frankfurt who visits Lagos regularly.
5. Mettrick and Arnspiger flew Sao Tome, paid bills, took off with DC-7, presumably for Bissau, never arrived. Air rescue craft searched in vain. Last week Nigeria reported defection of DC-7. Mettrick and Arnspiger since reported seen Frankfurt, Geneva, where they believed working with FMG on plan break airlift.
6. Airlift concedes one of its pilots defected without plane. Captain Peter Retief, a South African, left Lisbon for Geneva where he said contacted Arnspiger, demenaded payment for sabotage Super Constellation disabled at Bissau airport.

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0835



Page 3 of telegram to Multiple Address

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7. In last two weeks several airlift members had phone calls from Geneva, Frankfurt offering rewards for defection and kidnapping Wharton.

END

RUSK

FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/03



Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

Pol 7 ZAMBIA

SECRET 708

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02171 281459Z

49
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, 070 W

R 281000Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2934
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
RUQSOJ/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 122
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 2171

LIMDIS

REF: STATE 191809

KIGALI FOR PALMER

1. CHANCES REACHING KAUNDA BEFORE HE LEAVES ON SCANDINAVIAN TOUR MONDAY, JULY 1, PRACTICALLY NIL AS HE HOSTING AND PERSONALLY ESCORTING SOMALI PRIME MINISTER EGAL ON OFFICIAL VISIT, LEAVING FOR COPPERBELT THIS NOON AND RETURNING LUSAKA LATE SATURDAY IN TIME SEE EGAL OFF SUNDAY MORNING. KONMIN KAMANGA ALSO ACCOMPANYING THROUGHOUT. ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR GOOD SHOULD BE RE-ENTERING ZAMBIA BY CAR IN NORTHERN PROVINCE TODAY, UNLIKELY HE WILL REACH LUSAKA BEFORE KAUNDA'S DEPARTURE MONDAY.

2. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, SUBJECT DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE, CHARGE INTENDS TRYING SEE PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT MARKI CHONA ORI MFA PERMSEC MULIKITA TO MAKE APPROACH SUGGESTED REE TEL AND SEE WHAT POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR BRIEF MOMENT WITH KAUNDA PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE, HOPE BEING THEY WILL AT LEAST CONVEY SUBSTANCES OF APPROACH TO HIM BEFORE HE GETS AWAY.

3. SINCE KAUNDA MAY NOT RETURN UNTIL JULY 22 (LUSAKA 2147),

SECRET

0837

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02171 281459Z

BELIEVE NEXT BEST BET WOULD BE FOR AMBASSADOR APPROACH
VICE PRESIDENT KAPWEPWE LATER NEXT WEEK.
GP-3
EDMONDSON

SECRET

0838

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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners 672

POST Lusaka

(Time Received)

SERIAL 2171

1968 JUN 28 PM 1 53

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 642

Secretariat

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX
S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Summary
Task Force

Geographic

AF5 X
ARA9
EA11
EUR9
NEA7

Other

ACDA5
AID/EXSEC3
AA/AFR2
AA/VN2
AA/EA2
AA/NESA2

Functional

CU
E2
H
IGA
INR6 6
IO4
L2
O3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P2
SCA
SCS
SCI

PC
VP
AEC3
AGR3
COM2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
STR
TRANS
TRSY6
JUS
IRS
INT
BOB
FBI
CEA
FAA

Principals

ES2 4
S
U
M2
G
SIG 1
S/AH3
S/AL
S/1
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P 1
S/R
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM
G/DP

OTHER AGENCIES

WH10 10
CIA P
DOD 1
USIA4
NSA

File
Burned

0839

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND954503
By MMNARA Date 10/5/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

27 JUN 68 15 07z

Origin
Info

ACTION: Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
" KIGALI PRIORITY
" LUSAKA PRIORITY
-INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN
" LAGOS
" LIDREVILLE
" NIAMEY
" YAOUNDE

LIMDIS

Ref: Kinshasa 9970

KIGALI FOR PALMER

1. Agree with Secretary Palmer that unless Ambassador Burns and Ambassador Good consider it would not be helpful they should approach Nyerere and Kaunda on lines suggested reftel para 1 and statement para 2 on FMG responsibility for humanitarian treatment of Ibos. Further they should emphasize to these leaders that we all have common desire to end hostilities and needless bloodshed. To make QTE Biafran's position more realistic, U.S. believes they should be persuaded to resume negotiations without preconditions and without sterile demands for prior cease fire.
2. Added background for your discussions is contained in Palmer press conference Yaounde, June 19, as reported by USINFO and will be repeated separately.
3. It also could prove useful in conversations to show extent U.S. relief effort through ICRC and others designed to alleviate civilian suffering on both sides. Thus tels summarizing these facts are being repeated.

Drafted by:

AF:AFW:RM Melbourne/AM Hardy:ba 6/27/68 2619

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

AF - Mr. Quimby

Clearances:

AF-THQ Quimby

AFE-NFeld (draft)

AFSE-EHolmes (draft)

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0840

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MNA Date 10/5/03



67
Po/27 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 150

PAGE 01 CONAKR 01886 271028Z

11
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, 139 W

R 271025Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3455
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS CONAKRY 1886

CALL BY NIGERIAN DELEGATION ON PRESIDENT TOURE IN DALABA JUNE 26 WAS OCCASION FOR PUBLIC DECLARATION OF GUINEAN POLICY ON NIGERIA. READ CONAKRY RADIO THIS MORNING. TOURE SAID TO HAVE REAFFIRMED TOTAL GOG SUPPORT OF NIGERIAN FIGHT FOR INTEGRITY AND UNITY, PRAISED FMG EFFORT RESTORE NORMAL LIFE IN COUNTRY, AND, TYPICALLY, CONDEMNED ACTIONS IMPERIALIST FORCES "MORE INFESTED IN EXPLOITING NIGERIAN MINERAL RESOURCES THAN IN RETURN TO PEACE." DELEGATION, HEADED BY MIN WORKS AND HOUSING OKUNNU, ARRIVED JUNE 25, DELIVERED MESSAGE FROM GENERAL GOWON, AND IS RETURNING TO NIGERIA TODAY. MCILVAINE

INTERVIEWED BY RS/R

(1)

UNCLASSIFIED

0841

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Authority	VND959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/95

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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191812

27 JUN 68 15 19z

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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
" LUSAKA PRIORITY
Info: INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN
" LAGOS
" LIBREVILLE
" NIAMEY
" YAOUNDE

Ref: 191809

excerpt

1. As per reftel following/ ~~excerpt~~ from Palmer press conference Yaounde, June 19, as reported by USINFO repeated for your info:

2. Asked ~~many~~ about US policy towards Biafra Mr. Palmer said:

QTE The position of the US Government is one of continued recognition of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. We do not recognize Biafra. We do hope this matter will be peacefully resolved. We hope that talks can be started again and that the matter will be peacefully resolved in a way that will preserve the integrity of Nigeria. We would certainly draw a distinction between a secessionist movement in an existing independent African state and the situation that pertains to those areas that are still under colonial rule. When I speak about self-determination I am talking about those areas of Africa that still remain under outside foreign control. It was not in any sense intended as having application to a secessionist movement within Africa. The task of nation building in Africa is great and complex. Obviously many different considerations have to be reconciled and this is a difficult

Drafted by: AF:AFW:AMHardy:ba 6/27/68
Clearance: NFeld (sub) ~~alt~~
AFE-Janducage ~~alt~~ USIA/IAA-Mr. Rockweiler (sub)
AFSE-EWHolmes (sub)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

*Intelligence
Note* - 506

June 27, 1968

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *th*

Subject: Nigeria: Prospects for Renewed Peace Talks Remain Dim

Despite the public optimism of British officialdom, neither Federal Nigeria nor Biafra is yet ready to make concessions which might lead to resumption of the abortive peace talks in Kampala, Uganda.

No New Openings. Consultations this week between British Minister of State Lord Shepherd and Federal Nigerian leader General Yakubu Gowon in Lagos revealed no softening of Federal peace terms. Gowon flatly refused to consider the British suggestion that Lagos unilaterally declare a ceasefire, sticking to the now familiar position that an end to hostilities would be possible only after Biafra renounces secession. Gowon's offers to (1) accept an international ceasefire observer force if Biafra ends its rebellion and (2) reopen expbratory talks were not new either. Both proposals were made last month at Kampala and rejected by Biafran diplomats.

Biafra Adamant. Initial Biafran reaction to UK attempts to get peace talks going again is negative. Biafra has repeatedly refused to resume formal talks on a political settlement until Lagos agrees to an unconditional ceasefire and withdraws its troops from Biafran soil. Moreover, Biafran leader Colonel C.O. Ojukwu is suspicious of British motives and has refused to sanction London's efforts before on the grounds that the UK--through arms sales to Lagos--is a party to the war.

3
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria

*@ Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
CDEF 19-8 UK-Nigeria*

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- 2 -

How Much Time? Still, both London and Lagos are satisfied with the outcome of the Shepherd-Gowon talks. The Wilson government, its policy of furnishing arms to Federal Nigeria under heavy attack in the press and in Parliament, feels it must be visibly active in search of a peace settlement. It hopes that General Gowon's positive statements on refugee relief and his promise to "go slow" in invading Iboland will pacify domestic critics for a while. Lagos, expecting Shepherd to announce a cutback in British arms shipments, probably was delighted to receive only cautionary advice instead and feels that it has bought a little more time in which to crush Biafra by military force.

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TRBG 20 LAGOS
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ACTION LI 03:

INFO AF 09, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INR 07, NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01,
SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 15, EI 15, O 02, RSRI 01, /137 W

R WUGRPT JUNI 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS.
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1279

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS: 10356.
REF: STATE 170568 AND 170379

DURING LAST THREE WEEKS EMBASSY HAS SCHEDULED CHARTERED FLIGHTS
PAN AFRICAN DC-4 THREE SEPARATE OCCASIONS TO TRANSPORT TEAM
EMBASSY/AID/PC AND TELECOM TECHNICIANS TO ENUGU FOR PERIOD
4-5 DAYS TO MAKE FINAL SURVEY PROPERTIES AND RECOVER TELECOM
EQUIPMENT. IN EACH INSTANCE TRIP ABORTED LAST MINUTE DUE
TO FMG NEED FOR PLANE TO TRANSPORT MILITARY SUPPLIES TO WAR
FRONT. IN TWO INSTANCES TELECOM TEAM FLOWN IN FROM MONROVIA
FOR PURPOSE AND ONE OCCASION OFFICER FROM DEPT. BROUGHT IN FOR
TRIP.

IN VIEW UNCERTAIN AVAILABILITY AIRCRAFT AND HEAVY COSTS EACH
ATTEMPT EMBASSY PLANS NO FURTHER RECOVERY MISSION UNTIL PAN
AFRICAN OBTAINS ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT OR REASONABLE ASSURANCE
OTHERWISE OBTAINED FROM FMG THAT MISSION CAN BE COMPLETED OR
ALTERNATIVELY AWAIT ESTABLISHMENT CONDITIONS SUITABLE TO PLAN
TRUCK CONVOY VIA KADUNA-MAKURDI WHICH 4-5 DAY TRIP. IN LIEU
HOPE TO CHARTER SMALL PAN AFRICAN BEECHCRAFT TO FLY IN TEAM
ONLY TO COMPLETE SURVEY OF PROPERTIES FOR PURPOSE OF PROVIDING
CERTIFICATION RE CLAIMS ACTIONS.

NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS SIMILAR MISSION TO PORT HARCOURT
DUE TO INSTABILITY OF SITUATION THAT AREA.

MATHEWS.

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XR DEF 12-5 NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, PI 04, RSC 01, USIA 12,
IO 13, AID 28, 098 W

R 261235Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 780
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS KADUNA 1109

SUBJECT: NEW NIGERIAN AND LORD SHEPHERDS VISIT

REF: KADUNAS 1097

NEW NIGERIAN FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL JUNE 26 CONTINUES
AND EXPANDS VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THEIR JUNE 21
EDITORIAL ON SHEPHERDS VISIT REPORTED REFTEL. EDITORIAL
SAYS JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CONCLUSION VISIT SHOWS
THAT ONLY POINT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENT IS
FACT THEY BOTH DECIDED SET DOWN THEIR POSITIONS ON SAME
PIECE OF PAPER. ALTHOUGH SHEPHERD PHRASED U.K.
POSITION IN DIPLOMATIC TERMS, WHAT HE WAS REALLY SAYING
IS: WE SHALL NOT SELL YOU ARMS TO CRUSH YOUR REBELLION.
DILEMMA OBVIOUS IN THAT U.K. GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INFLUENCED
BY HIGHLY ORGANIZED AND VOCAL PRESSURE GROUPS WHO CUT
NO ICE IN NIGERIA. IN RATHER STRONG TERMS EDITORIAL
ADDS: IT WILL BE A GROSS DERELICTION OF DUTY ON PART
OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT NOT TO HAVE PREPARED CONTINGENCY
PLANS TO COPE WITH IMPENDING EVENTUALITY.
EDITORIAL CHARGES THAT NIGERIA BEHAVING
LIKE EXTENSION OF HER MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS
SINCE BRITISH MINISTRY GIVES FMG WARNING
ON OUR OWN GROUND AND FMG MEEKLY ACCEPTS
HIS PROPOSAL TO RECONVENE PEACE MEETINGS.
NEW NIGERIAN CONCLUDES WITH VIEW THAT NIGERIA
MUST ERASE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS UNNECESSARILY

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TELEGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

AID 28, SA 01, SAH 02, RSR 01, 160 W

P 261704Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4449
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 10320

KIGALI FOR PALME

REF: LAGOS 10301

SUB: LORD SHEPHERD'S RETURN FROM LAGOS

MICROFILMED BY RS/R

1. LONDON PRESS THIS MORNING (JUNE 26) PROMINENTLY REPORTS LORD SHEPHERD'S RETURN LAST NIGHT AND HIS STATEMENT AT AIRPORT THAT HE HOPED NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS COULD BE RESUMED "IN MATTER OF DAYS". TELEGRAPH DOUBTS OPTIMISM IS WARRANTED, HOWEVER, SINCE IT APPEARS FMG STILL INSISTING BIAFRANS RENOUNCE SECESSION BEFORE CEASE-FIRE CAN BE DECLARED. TIMES QUOTES SHEPHERD AS STATING SITUATION VERY DIFFICULT "BUT I THINK SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND".

2. ASKED ABOUT ARMS SUPPLY POLICY, SHEPHERD IS REPORTED

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TO HAVE SAID GOVT'S VIEWS MIGHT CHANGE IF WAR LED TO "UNNECESSARY LOSS OF LIFE". BUT HE WAS SATISFIED GENERAL GOWON WISHED TO AVOID THIS.

3. TIMES EDITORIAL TODAY SHOWS SHEPHERD'S TRIP IS ALREADY PRODUCING DIVIDENDS IN FORM OF MORE BALANCED PRESS COVERAGE OF NIGERIAN CONFLICT. TIMES DOUBTS SHEPHERD ACHIEVED ANY DIPLOMATIC BREAK-THROUGH IN LAGOS, BUT DOES BELIEVE "HIS INTERVENTION CAN OPEN WAY TO RELIEF OF STARVING REFUGEES IN IBOLAND, AND OUT OF THIS PEACE COULD COME". PAPER PROCEEDS TO ADMONISH OJUKWU WITH UNACCUSTOMED SEVERITY ABOUT "USING MISERY OF OWN PEOPLE TO EXTRACT DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER ADVANTAGES TO COUNTER-BALANCE HIS DEFEATS IN BATTLE". NOTING THAT GOVON HAS OFFERED TO OPEN CORRIDOR THROUGH FEDERAL LINES TO PERMIT PASSAGE OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, TIMES ASSERTS OJUKWU'S "EGREGIOUS PROPAGANDIST HAVE RAISED FRIVOLOUS OBJECTIONS" TO THIS PROCEDURE, EVEN THOUGH "EXPERT OPINION IS THAT FIAFRA'S TEMPORARY AIRSTRIP COULD NOT TAKE 200 TONS PER WEEK NEEDED". PAPER CONCLUDES BY CALLING ON OJUKWU TO MATCH GOWON'S CONCESSION: "THIS WOULD BE FIRST ACT OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THEM. FROM IT COULD FLOW RESUMPTION OF TALKS".

4. GUARDIAN MEANWHILE CONTINUES TO HAMMER ON GOVT TO STOP ARMS SHIPMENTS. EDITORIAL JUNE 25 JUDGES SHEPHERD'S TRIP TO HAVE BEEN FAILURE AND PREDICTS THAT IF NOTHING MORE WAS ACHIEVED THAN WAS REFLECTED IN COMMUNIQUE, "PRESSURE ON BRITISH GOVT TO HALT ITS ARMS SUPPLIES TO LAGOS WILL BECOME OVERWHELMING".

5. COMMENT: COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S MOBERLY (WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPARTMENT) DESCRIBED RESULTS OF SHEPHERD MISSION IN SAME TERMS AS REFTEL. HE SAID BRITISH THOUGHT ONE REASON SHEPHERD HAD RECEIVED COURTEOUS AND ATTENTIVE HEARING WAS THAT NIGERIANS WERE RELIEVED TO DISCOVER HE HAD NOT BEEN SENT OUT TO TELL THEM DECISION TO HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS ALREADY TAKEN. MOBERLY ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT ON KEY POINT OF PERSUADING FMG TO OFFER "UNCONDITIONAL" CEASE-FIRE, SHEPHERD HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL. FARTHEST NIGERIANS WOULD GO WAS TO SAY THEY WERE WILLING TO CONSIDER SOME KIND OF FORMULA WHICH WOULD ENABLE BIAFRANS TO RENOUNCE SECESSION WITHOUT LOSS OF FACE.

6. MOBERLY SAID SHEPHERD WOULD NOW GIVE DETAILED BRIEFING

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PAGE 03 LONDON 10320 261924Z

TO ARNOLD SMITH. NO THEN EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO CONTACT MBANEFO. (WHOSE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS MOBERLY DID NOT KNOW). THERE WAS CERTAIN TO BE SWIRL OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY. QUESTIONS ON SHEPHERD'S MISSION HAD ALREADY BEEN PUT DOWN IN HOUSE, INCLUDING ONE FROM DOUGLAS-HOME. MOBERLY THOUGHT THAT UNDER PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURE GOVT MIGHT WELL DECIDE TO ANNOUNCE ITS WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACE-KEEPING OR OBSERVER FORCE "IF ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES AND OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES ALSO PARTICIPATED". BRUCE

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SECRET 562

PAGE 01 LUBUMB 01006 261735Z

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ACTION: AF: 15

INFO: EUR 15, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, USIE: 00, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, GPM: 04, H: 02, INR: 07,

LI: 03, NSAE: 00, NSC: 10, PI: 04, RSC: 01, SP: 02, SS: 20, AID: 28, IO: 13, CCO: 00,

RSR: 01, 125: W

O: 261630Z JUN 68 ZFF6
FM: AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 866
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY ACCRA

SECRET LUBUMBASHI 1006

FROM: PALMER

1. I HAD EXTENDED DISCUSSION NIGERIAN SITUATION WITH BOMBOKO
LAST EVENING. I WILL NOT GO INTO DETAILS SINCE I FOLLOWED
SAME LINE REPORTED MY CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS.

2. HOWEVER BELIEVE IT WORTH REPORTING THAT THERE WAS COMPLETE
IDENTITY OF VIEWS BETWEEN GDRG AND OURSELVES BOTH WITH REGARD
OUR ANALYSIS OF PROBLEM AND PRESENT DANGERS IN SITUATION.
MOREOVER, BOMBOKO APPEARED COMPLETELY UNDERSTAND OUR ARMS
SUPPLY POLICY AND DISTINCTIONS WE HAVE MADE BETWEEN SITUATION
IN NIGERIA AND THAT IN CONGO. HE AGREED IMMEDIATE TASKS OF
AFRICANS ARE TO PERSUADE IBOS BE REALISTIC, TO MAKE VERY
CLEAR TO FMG THAT REST OF AFRICA HOLDS IT RESPONSIBLE TO
PREVENT EXCESSES, AND TO STAND READY TO ASSIST WITH OBSERVERS
AND OTHER PEACE KEEPING MACHINERY AS ELEMENTS IN A CEASE
FIRE.

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41
Lubumbashi 1006
6-26-68

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PAGE 02 LUBUMB 01006 261735Z

3. BOMBOKO SAID HE WILL PROBABLY REPRESENT MOBUTU AT NIAMEY MEETING OF OAU COMMISSION AND WILL TAKE THIS LINE. I PARTICULARLY COMMENDED DIORI TO HIM AND FILLED HIM IN ON MY TALKS IN NIAMEY, NOTING THAT ALTHOUGH DIORI A NORTHERNER, HE HAS HIGHLY SENSITIVE APPRECIATION IBO PROBLEM. I ALSO TOOK OCCASION TO STRESS TO BOMBOKO IMPORTANCE OAU WORKING IN TANDEM WITH CS AND NOT RPT NOT AT CROSS PURPOSES, EMPHASIZING PARTICULARLY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE SMITH AND ADU PLAYING. HARROP

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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CONFIDENTIAL 861

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 3531 261049Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, SAH 02, IO 13, RSR 01,
/141 W

R 251810Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2598
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME UNN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU UNN
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 3531

REF: ABIDJAN 3505

1. FROM NIAMEY 1898. I INFER HOUPHOUET IS IN FACT DOING WHAT WE WANT HIM TO DO IN TALKING WITH BIAFRANS, BUT WOULD NOT TELL ME BECAUSE HE WANTS TO KEEP HEAT ON US TO PRESSURE BRITISH AND FMG. IF SO, NOT THE FIRST TIME FOREIGNERS HAVE MISREAD AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY.

2. HAVE HEARD INDIRECTLY HOUPHOUET STILL PLANNING SEND USHER TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. IF SO, THIS PROBABLY EXPRESSES SAME STRATEGY OF KEEPING HEAT ON US. ALTERNATIVE BUT LESS LIKELY GUESS IS THAT SOMEONE HAS PERSUADED HIM WE ARE BEING ANTI-BIAFRA BECAUSE ANTI-DEGAULLE. GP-3. MORGAN

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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN

INFO: Amembassy KINSHASA FOR PALMER

Amembassy LAGOS

PRIORITY
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25 JUN 68 23 22Z

Info:

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SUBJ: Request for Usher Meeting with Secretary

REF: Abidjan's 3505

1. Amb Ahoua requesting appointment for Usher to see Secretary some time

during first 10 days July. Have informed him Secretary ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
may returning from NATO meeting and thus might not be available
/ take leave upon ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
until later in July. Have promised
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Ahoua definite answer by end of week.

2. Ahoua did not state purpose of visit, but view ref tel assume it would be to explain Biafran recognition and otherwise to justify Houphouet's Nigerian policy. Given Amb's recent exhaustive discussion of Nigerian situation with Houphouet and Usher, doubt such a meeting would be especially useful for either party, but do not of course wish refuse Usher's request. By building on assurances already given Houphouet by Amb, however, it might be possible to lead Usher to conclusion that meeting with Secretary unnecessary. Suggest therefore Amb see Usher, mention Ahoua's request, convey info on Secretary's tentative schedule para one above, and ask whether there any subject in particular he wishes discuss. If he then mentions Nigerian situation, you might take occasion assure him that his views and those of President Houphouet have been fully communicated to Secretary, that USG appreciates that aim of Ivorian policy has been to bring fighting to an end, and that we have never

5

Drafted by: AF/AFCW:RRS/grand/EJNadelman:lsr

6/25/68

Tel. Ext. 6062

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - Thomas H.E. Quimby

Clearances:

AFW - Mr. Melbourne

S - Mr. Shlaudeman

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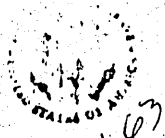
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PAGE 01 KINSHA 10021 251528Z

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INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, 128 W

R 251415Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8300
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS KINSHASA 10021

SUBJ: CONGO (B) FMG DELEGATION ARRIVES IN BRAZZAVILLE TO
DELIVER PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM GEN GOWON TO CONGO (B) PRESIDENT

REF: KINSHASA 8851

BRAZZAVILLE'S VOIX DE LA REVOLUTION ANNOUNCED ON
1130Z BROADCAST 25 JUNE 1968 THAT YESTERDAY A SPECIAL FMG
DELEGATION HAD ARRIVED IN BRAZZAVILLE CHARGED WITH THE DELIVERY
OF A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM GEN GOWON TO PRESIDENT MASSAMBA.
DEBAT. IT SAID THAT CONTENTS OF MESSAGE NOT KNOWN BUT PROBABLY
DEALT WITH NIGERIAN CONFLICT. ANNOUNCER THEN RECALLED GRC
OFFICIAL POSITION ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AS GIVEN BY CONGOLESE
INFOMIN ANORE HOMBESSA ON 25 APRIL 1968 (REFTEL) AND QUOTES
PART WHICH STATED THAT NIGERIAN CONFLICT HAD BECOME HUMAN
PROBLEM DUE TO SHAME OF GENOCIDE. MCGUIRE

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SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, NIC 01, MC 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 129 W

R 251500
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 779
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KADUNA 1107

REF KADUNA 1089 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJECT: RELATIVE CALM RETURNS TO KADUNA.

1. ALTHOUGH LOCAL AUTHORITIES STILL PROFESS TO BE CONCERNED OVER POSSIBILITY OF AIR RAIDS FROM BIAFRA, ALERT SITUATION OF WEEK OF JUNE 17-21 HAS BEEN ABANDONED. ATTEMPTS TO ENFORCE BLACKOUT NO LONGER BEING PURSUED AND JOINT CIVIL AND MILITARY POLICE PATROLS NO LONGER IN EVIDENCE.

2. GARBA JA ABUQULKADIR, SECRETARY MILGOVT, NORTH-CENTRAL STATE, ADMITTED TO CONSOFF THIS MORNING THAT LAST WEEK'S EXERCISE WAS DESIGNED IN PART TO GIVE CIVIL POPULACE FEELING THAT WAR WAS STILL GOING ON. HE REFERRED TO ELEVEN RECENTLY ACQUIRED BIASUANI PLANES WHICH HE SAID ARE BASED IN UMUHIA, BUT DISTANCE TO KADUNA AND DANGER OF INTERCEPTION MAKE CITY A VERY IMPROBABLE TARGET. GARBA JA ALSO ADMITTED THAT THREAT OF AGENTS-PROVACATEURS WHICH HAD BEEN BRUITED ABOUT AS EXCUSE FOR PATROLS WAS FICTION TO COVER GENERAL ROUNDUP OF CRIMINAL ELEMENTS IN KADUNA BY POLICE AND MILITARY. LOCAL GOVERNMENT OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER SPATE OF ROBBERIES IN KADUNA.
GP-4
STOKES.

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL50-30

DATE: 6/28/68 MSG NO.: 0281 TYPE: TE
FROM: USDAO Lagos TO: State/DIA
SUBJECT: Update Current FMG/Eastern Mil Situation
DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: _____ OTHER: ☒

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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POL 16 BIAFRA
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, /126 W

R 221200Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6066
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMCONSUL ASMARA
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
ORUTAMA/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 276
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
STATE GRNC

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 4455

REF: NAIMEY 1862

1. AMERICAN HEAD FONOFF, AYALEW MANDEFRO, CONFIRMED
YESTERDAY ZMPEROR PLANNING PROCEED CAIRO JUNE 24 FOR
CEREMONIES COMMEMORATING ST. MARK'S DEATH 1900 YEARS AGO.
HIM WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY (#)
HVHQGVHHBPGMPTWGPZYHWMHBHY
FONMIN KETEMA, LATTER IN CONNECTION EMPEROR'S TALKS
WITH NASSER RE UPCOMING NON-ALIGNED PREPARATORY
CONFERENCE (SEPTTEL). FROM CAIRO EMPEROR WILL PROCEED
GENEVA FOR ABOUT TWO DAYS REST. AFTER RETURN TO ADDIS,
EMPEROR EXPECTS TAKE OFF AGAIN FOR NAIMEY JULY 4 FOR
MEETING OF OAU SIX-NATION CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON
NIGERIA, ASSUMING EXPECTED FAVORABLE RESPONSE TO HIS

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Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



Department of State

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 4455 221527Z

RECENT LETTER TO MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE INVITING THEM
MEET JULY IN NAIMEY.

2. AYALEW OBSERVED EMPEROR ANXIOUS THAT COMMITTEE MEET
AGAIN WELL BEFORE OAU SUMMIT IN ALGIERS IN SEPTEMBER.
WHETHER OR NOT FMG FAVORED SUCH COMMITTEE MEETING LESS
IMPORTANT THAN THAT COMMITTEE CONVENE AND THUS
DEMONSTRATE ITS ACTIVITY AND CONCERN RE NIGERIAN
PROBLEM. OTHERWISE OAU PRESTIGE WOULD SUFFER AT ALGIERS
WHERE BITTER EXCHANGES LIKELY DEVELOP BETWEEN THOSE WHO
HAD RECOGNIZED BIAFRA AND REST OF AFRICAN STATES. EARLY
COMMITTEE MEETING WOULD SERVE PURPOSE OF FOCUSING ON FACT
MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES FAVORED UNITY OF NIGERIA BUT
AT SAME TIME WANTED FAIR TREATMENT FOR IBOS, AND FMG
WOULD NOT BE IN POSITION PROTEST ANY COMMITTEE ATTEMPTS
CONSULT WITH OJOKWE IN EFFORT BREAK DEADLOCK. COMMITTEE
MEETING THUS HELD OUT BEST HOPE FOR PROGRESS ON NIGERIAN
PROBLEM.

GP-4 HALL

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State ^{XR POL 16 BIAFRA} **TELEGRAM**
²⁸
XR POL 3 09U

CONFIDENTIAL 422

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 1898 241705Z

51
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, AID 28, E 15, PC 04,

ACDA 16, RSR 01, /176 W

R 220710Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1892
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 1898

SUBJ: NIGERIA-BIAFRA

REF: NIAMEY 1817

DIORI INFORMED ME THIS MORNING THAT HIS BROTHER HAD GIVEN HIM REPORT HOUPHOUET'S MEETING WITH BIAFRAN REPS ABIDJAN. ACCORDING DIORI, HOUPHOUET TOLD BIAFRANS PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF EVERYONE IS TO SEE PEACE IN NIGERIA. HE APPARENTLY SUGGESTED THAT BIAFRANS NOW ACCEPT IDEA UNITED NIGERIA WITH QUESTION OF NUMBER OF STATES AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS TO BE DISCUSSED WHEN TALKS RESUME. DIORI SAID THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATION AGREED TO CARRY THESE SUGGESTIONS BACK TO BIAFRA TO DISCUSS WITH OJUKWU AND OTHERS. IT WAS INTERESTING THAT DURING COURSE OUR SHORT CONVERSATION DIORI REFERRED TO RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH IVORY COAST AND OTHERS WHO HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA HAVE TO TRY TO BRING BIAFRANS AROUND TO ACCEPT UNIFIED NIGERIA AND TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. AS INDICATED IN REFTEL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY PALMER EMPHASIZED THIS RESPONSIBILITY IN HIS NIAMEY CONVERSATIONS WITH DIORI LAST WEEK.

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TELEGRAM²³

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 01898 241705Z

DIORI STILL EXPECTS OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET IN NIAMEY. HE SAID, HOWEVER, HE WAS NOT SURE NOW WHETHER PROPOSED DATE WAS TO BE JULY 5 OR JULY 15, COMMENTING THAT GHANAIAN AMBASSADOR WHO IS HERE NOW INDICATED DATE OF JULY 15. DIORI SAID HE HAS SENT MESSAGES TO INTERESTED CHIEFS OF STATE ASKING FOR DETAILS COMPOSITION OF THEIR DELEGATIONS AND OTHER INFORMATION SO THAT GON CAN PLAN NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONFERENCE.
GP-3 RYAN

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 32-1 SUDAN-UGANDA
XL POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XL POL 17 UGANDA

CONFIDENTIAL 647

PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02418 210912Z

17
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, OODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, S 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, IO 13, RSR 01, /113 W

R 210735Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2920
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ACCRA

CONFIDENTIAL KAMPALA 2418

1. DURING COURTESY CALL ON BAINGANA, PERMSEC FONOFF WITH TERENCE TODMAN FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED:
SUDAN- BAINGANA REFLECTED GENERAL ATTITUDE ANGER FELT BY MANY IN UGANDA OVER RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS IN MOYO AREA. HE MADE NO EFFORT CONCEAL EMOTIONS THIS SUBJECT AND SAID HE CONSIDERED SITUATION STILL VERY SERIOUS. SUDANESE EXPLANATION OF AFFAIR HAS BEEN REJECTED BY GOV AS BEING "UNSATISFACTORY" AND THEY STILL AWAITING NEW EXPLANATION. BAINGANA APPEARED MORE UPSET THIS MATTER THAN ANY OTHER TIME WE HAVE TALKED WITH HIM. NIGERIA-BAINGANA SAID HE DEFINITELY UNDER IMPRESSION ENAHOGO WANTED SERIOUS TALKS WITH BIAFRANS AND WAS PREPARED MAKE CONCESSIONS ON HIS SIDE. MBANEFO, ACCORDING PERM SEC, WAS RIGID, LEGALISTIC MINDED JUDGE WHO SAW THINGS ONLY IN TERMS GOOD AND BAD AND DID NOT BUDGE FROM HIS INITIAL POSITION. EAST AFRICA- IN REPLY TO REMARK FROM POLOFF TO EFFECT UGANDA AND TANZANIA SEEMED BE GROWING MUCH CLOSER ZAMBIA AT EXPENSE KENYA, BAINGANA GRINNED, SAID MERELY, "MANY WOULD AGREE WITH YOU."

2. IN INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH OTHER FONOFF STAFF, FOLLOWING EMERGED: HICOM ASEA DEFINITELY LEAVING LONDON AND FOREIGN SERVICE. NEW POSITION NOT YET KNOWN NOR NAME HIS SUCCESSOR.

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Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 655

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10182 211845Z

51
ACTION AF. 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01,
SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, ACDA 16, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, V 159 W

R 211630Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1173
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
CINCSTIKE/CINCMEAFSA
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10182

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRSTRIPS

1. COMMANDER NIGERIAN AIR FORCE, ALAO, TOLD EMBOFFS
JUNE 20 THAT HE BELIEVES DC-7 (LAGOS 10080) DID LAND
IN REBEL-HELD TERRITORY. ALSO SAID HE THOUGHT BIAFRANS
HAD SEVERAL AIRSTRIPS CAPABLE TAKING AIRCRAFT OF SIZE
UP TO DC-7, BUT LANDINGS VERY HAZARDOUS, AND PLANES
COULD ONLY TAKE OFF VIRTUALLY EMPTY. HE DID NOT
REPEAT NOT THINK THERE MANY FLIGHTS FROM SAO TOME OR
FERNANDO PO. HE INDICATED IN RATHER OFFHAND MANNER
THAT NIGERIAN AIR FORCE NOT REPEAT NOT MAKING STRENUOUS
EFFORTS INTERDICT SUCH FLIGHTS.

2. COMMENT: WHILE EMBASSY UNSURE FREQUENCY OF FLIGHTS
INTO BIAFRA, IT CLEAR THERE ARE OCCASIONAL FLIGHTS FROM
SAO TOME, ORGANIZED BY BIAFRANS, BRINGING ARMS
AND OTHER SUPPLIES. THERE ARE ALSO FLIGHTS
FROM FERNANDO PO, UNDER AUSPICES ICRC, WHICH
BRING IN MEDICINE AND RELIEF SUPPLIES. WHILE
ICRC HERE ACKNOWLEDGES THEY SPONSOR SUCH FLIGHTS,
THEY RETICENT ABOUT DETAILS BUT INDICATE FLIGHTS

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10/18/82
16-21-68

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 12182 211845Z

INFREQUENT AMOUNT GOODS DELIVERED SMALL; AND
INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT ARRANGE CHARTERS.

GP-3.
MATHEWS

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0864

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 7 UK
XR DEF 12-5 NIGERIA
NR POL 29 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

UNCLASSIFIED 878

PAGE 01 KADUNA 01097 240915Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 2, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, RSR 01,
IO 13, 070

R 211215Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 775
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS KADUNA 1097

SUBJECT: NEW NIGERIAN AND LORD SHEPHERD'S VISIT

NEW NIGERIAN OF JUNE 21 IN FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL ENTITLED
"NO MAGIC FORMULA," VIEWS WITH SOME MISGIVINGS VISIT OF
LORD SHEPHERD WHO IT SUGGESTS MAY ISSUE ULTIMATUM TO
FMG "NEGOTIATE OR ELSE WE SHOULD BE FACED TO STOP ARMS
SUPPLIES," REFERRING TO DEBATE IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT
ON NIGERIA, EDITORIAL STATES THAT PARLIAMENTARIANS
ARE "STILL CONFUSED AS TO WHETHER WE ARE A COLONY OR
AN INDEPENDENT STATE," ACCORDING TO NEW NIGERIAN,
SOME BRITISH THINK THEY HAVE "TRUMP CARD" IN STOPPING
ARMS SUPPLIES, WHILE OTHER "THINK COMMERCE COULD STILL
DO THE TRICK" BECAUSE OF LARGE
VOLUME OF TRADE WITH
NIGERIA. HOWEVER, NIGERIA IS "TIRED OF BEING COSSETTED,
REPROACHED AND BULLIED BY FOREIGNERS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND
OUR PROBLEMS, WHOSE EXPERIENCE OF CIVIL WAR IN MODERN TIMES
IS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT." LIKE "FOREIGN LIBERALS," NIGERIA
ALSO WANTS CEASE FIRE, BUT IF "ARMED REBELLION PERSISTS IT
WILL LIKE MORE THAN MERE WISH FOR PEACE TO BRING IT TO AN END."

EDITORIAL AVERS ANY PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATED CEASE FIRE
THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE PROPOSAL OF PRESERVATION OF
UNITY OF COUNTRY MAY BE
RETURNED TO WHERE IT CAME." ETOKES

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Authority VVND 959503
By MVA/RA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Done 1068
6-21-68

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PAGE 01 LOME 01068 211535Z

44

ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, ACDA 16, MC 01, AID 28, EUR 15, EA 10,

RSR 01, /155 W

R 211310Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LOME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1716
INFO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

UNCLAS LOME 1068

JOINT STATE/USIS MESSAGE

LIBREVILLE FOR PALMER

1. AFP-REUTERS STORY OF BIAFRA ACCUSATION U.S. OF FURNISHING
ARMS NIGERIA FRONT PAGE TOGO-PRESSE, JUNE 21. ACCORDING STORY,
BIAFRA
ALSO ACCUSED PALMER PROMOTING GENOCIDE.

2. IN ANOTHER FRONT-PAGE STORY, AFP-REUTER QUOTES MASSEMBA-
DEBAT: "AMONG THOSE DETESTABLE ARE UGLY PORTUGUESE FOOTDRAGGERS,
SOUTH AFRICAN AND RHODESIAN TYRANTS, AND POOR AMERICA WHICH MAKES
ITSELF RIDICULOUS EVERY DAY BY PLAYING THE POLICEMAN AND MERCENARY
ALL OVER THE WORLD AND MOST ESPECIALLY IN THE UNJUST AND DETESTABLE
VIETNAM WAR."

SHERER

11 MICROFILMED BY RS/R

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Authority VMD 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

ACTION		
RM/R	REP	AF
1	5	
ARA	EUR	FE
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NEA	CU	INR
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	2	5
L	FBO	AID
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5/5	5/5	6/PM
10		
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
	6	
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		NSC
		6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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PL27 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA
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NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State
INFO : IBADAN, KADUNA, LONDON

RECEIVED
JUN 21 11 06 AM 1968

RS/R
file

FROM : Amembassy LONDON LAGOS

DATE: June 20, 1968

SUBJECT: Workers Rally in Biafra

REF :

Radio Biafra June 13 (BIS N131400) broadcast report on a rally of some 5,000 workers at Umuahia. Broadcast carried excerpts from resolutions and speeches by Biafran labor leaders.

One resolution called Harold Wilson and all members of his government "enemies of Africa" and asked "African patriots to square accounts with these enemies who are responsible for spilling African blood." Ebonney Okpa, leader of the Biafra Trade Union Congress said Africans should not "let the innocent blood of their brothers go unavenged."

The United States was sharply criticized at the labor rally. According to the broadcast, Nicholas Ajoero, a member of the Plantation Workers Union "attacked America as a decadent country," whose support, "whether overt or covert, has encouraged the Wilson gang in their war of genocide against Biafra." A resolution called upon the United States to cease financial support for the Wilson government and said "dollar imperialism is indirectly responsible for the genocide in Biafra since it enables Wilson to support the Lagos regime."

The broadcast quoted one M. O. Kalu as saying "it is a pity that friends of the black man like Robert Kennedy are being assassinated when the real enemies like Wilson go scot-free."

MATHEWS

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: POL:R Daley:mjr 6/20/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL:FPicard

Clearances:

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Authority VND959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

SECRET 958

PAGE 01 PARIS 16666 201430Z

49
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04

RSC 01, SP 02, SG 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, SAL 01, AID 28, NIC 01,

SCA 02, SCS 04, SA 01, MC 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /167 W

R 201358Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3310
INFO AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET PARIS 16666

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: PARIS 16235

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED FRENCH STATEMENT (REFTEL) ON RELIEF FOR BIAFRA AND ARMS EMBARGO WITH QUAI DESK OFFICER FOR NIGERIA (PIERRET). HE SAID THAT DECISION SEND FOODSTUFFS, MEDICINES, ETC. TO BIAFRA THROUGH FRENCH RED CROSS MADE IN MID-MAY BUT NEVER ANNOUNCED DUE TO PREOCCUPATION WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS. PROBLEMS HAVE ALSO ARISEN WITH FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT (FMG) WHICH OBJECTS TO FRENCH RED CROSS MAKING DELIVERIES DIRECTLY TO BIAFRA. EMBOFF INQUIRED AS TO WHY FRANCE HAS NOT ATTEMPTED USE ICRC AS CHANNEL AND REFERRED TO REPORTED RECENT AGREEMENT BY FMG THAT ICRC COULD USE FEDERAL PORTS, AIRFIELDS AND ROADS TO DELIVER RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA. PIERRET SAID QUAI UNINFORMED OF THIS AGREEMENT AND HAD HEARD SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE USING ICRC.

2. ON SUBJECT ARMS, PEIRRET SAID THAT EMBARGO REMAINS IN FORCE AND SAID THAT TO BEST QUAI'S KNOWLEDGE THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT VIOLATIONS. HE VOLUNTEERED INFORMATION ON PRESENCE FOUGA MAGISTERES IN LISBON DESTINED FOR BIAFRA BUT SAID QUAI HAS CHECKED CAREFULLY INTO THEIR ORIGIN AND HE IS SATISFIED THAT THEY CAME

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PAGE 02 PARIS 16666 201430Z

NEITHER FROM FRANCE NOR FROM WEST GERMANY (WHICH HAS RECENTLY SOLD BACK TO FRANCE ALL OF ITS FOUGA MAGISTERES). EMBOFF SAID WE HAD HEARD THAT ARMAMENT BEING INSTALLED ON PLANES MIGHT BE FRENCH. PIERRET SAID THIS COULD WELL BE SINCE PIERRE LAURYS STILL ACTIVE IN LISBON AND HAS CONNECTIONS WITH FRENCH ARMS MERCHANTS.

3. COMMENT: PIERRET HAS BEEN RELIABLE SOURCE IN PAST ON EVEN SO SENSITIVE QUESTION AS FRENCH MERCENARIES. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT FOUGA MAGISTERES REPORTED BY LISBON DAO (0558 JUNE 1968) WERE SUPPLIED BY FRANCE ALTHOUGH THEY WERE BUILT HERE. CONCERNING RELIEF SUPPLIES, IT MIGHT BE WELL FOR ICRC CONTACT FRANCE EITHER THROUGH FRENCH REP GENEVA OR FRENCH RED CROSS. THIS WOULD AT LEAST SERVE PURPOSE PUTTING FMG IN BETTER LIGHT ON HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS BIAFRA QUESTION.
GPI SHRIVER

SECRET

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LISBON 01591 200939Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, IO 13, ACDA 16, AID 28,
/155 W

R 191803Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2196
INFO AMEMBSSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LISBON 1591

SUBJ: FMG CAPTURE OF REBEL AIRCRAFT

REF: LAGOS 10080

1. REUTERS STORY MENTIONED REFTEL ALSO REPORTED
LISBON PRESS JUNE 19, INCLUDING STATEMENT THAT AIR-
CRAFT HAD FLOWN FROM SAO TOME, ACCOMPANIED BY LONG
FONMINISTRY "COMMENTARY."

2. SUMMARY OF FONMINISTRY COMMENTARY: FONMINISTRY
HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF INCIDENT, SINCE REGULAR COMMERCIAL
SERVICE NOT INVOLVED AND GOP CANNOT CONTROL WHETHER
AIRCRAFT CARRY OUT FLIGHT PLANS FILED BY THEIR CREWS
BEFORE DEPARTURE. AIRCRAFT NOT PORTUGUESE, NOR AT
SERVICE PORTUGUESE ENTITY, NOR WAS IT BELIEVED ANY
PORTUGUESE CITIZENS IN CREW. IF CONFIRMED THAT AIR-
CRAFT INDEED DEPARTED FROM PORTUGUESE SOIL, FACT SHOULD
CAUSE NO SURPRISE SINCE GOP HAD POLICY OF GUARANTEEING
FREE TRANSIT PORTUGUESE PORTS, AIRPORTS AND RAILWAYS
SUBJECT ONLY TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. GOP
WILL NOT PERMIT ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED AS LOGISTICAL
BASE NOR ALLOW PORTUGUESE TO BE USED FOR THAT END,
BUT WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH TRANSIT RIGHTS THIRD
PARTIES; GOP PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CITED AS

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By MN/NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LISBON 01591 200939Z

EXAMPLE OF APPLICATION OF POLICY. SAME POLICY
ALSO APPLIES TO BIAFRA AND TO FMG - IF LAGOS WISHES
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GOP NEUTRALITY. AIRCRAFT
COULD HAVE BEEN CARRYING MEDICINE OR FOOD INSTEAD
OF ARMS, AS HAS BEEN REQUESTED OF GOP MANY TIMES
IN PAST BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. FINALLY,
AFRICAN NATIONS, INCLUDING TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND IVORY COAST,
WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA WOULD NOT VIEW WITH DISPLEASURE
BLAMELESS PORTUGUESE ATTITUDE. END SUMMARY.
WEINER

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01100 191041Z

11
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, NSA 02, USIE 00, RSR 01, /071 W

R 190800Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 774
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1100

JOINT CONSULATE/USIS MESSAGE

JUNE 18 NEW NIGERIAN CARRIED PAGE THREE ACCOUNT OF "OBSERVATIONS OF SOVIET COLUMNIST" ON NIGERIAN CRISIS. ARTICLE INCLUDED FULL TEXT OF PUHHE BY ONE B. PILYATSKIN IN JUNE 10 IZVESTIA WHICH WAS CARRIED BY TASS. PILYATSKIN CHARGED THAT NIGERIA CONFLICT "WOULD NOT HAVE REACHED SUCH ACUTENESS AND WOULD NEVER ACQUIRE THE PRESENT FORMS IF IT WAS NOT BASED ON FOREIGN INTERFERENCE". THE CULPRITS IN THIS PIECE AND THE "NEOCOLONIALISTS" WHO PROVOKED EASTERN REGION SECESSION TO GET HOLD OF NIGERIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES INCLUDING OIL. IN PARTICULAR, HE CITES, "IMPERIALISTS OF THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO PROFIT FROM THE FORTUNES OF OTHER COUNTRIES THAT BEAR A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT TRAGEDY OF NIGERIA."

STOKES

NOTE: HAS RECEIVED.

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

Kaduna 1100
6-19-68

ORIGIN/ACTION

AF 5		
RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
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NEA	CU	INR
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L	FBO	AID
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AGR	COM	FRB
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TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
24	10	3
CAB	DOT	NSC
4	10	6
PASS-3		

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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A-163

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

DEPT PASS: LAGOS, LISBON, LONDON

JUN 21 11 30 AM 1968

FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE

DATE: June 19, 1968

SUBJECT : Biafra: Support Flights from Sao Tome

REF :

Enclosed is a memorandum prepared by Assistant PAO Roberta JONES on her observations and information regarding airlift operations from Sao Tome to Biafra. Miss Jones was in Sao Tome June 1-3 with a tour organized by a local travel agency.

BANE

1968 JUN 21 PM 2 57

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Enclosure:

Memorandum, June 5, 1968

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Drafted by:
DCM:HF Nelson:mam 6-19-68

Contents and Classification Approved by:
David M. Bane, Ambassador

Clearances:

0873

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Authority VMD 9503
By MVA Date 10/5/02

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

Page 1 of 2
Encl. No. 1
A-163 from Idreville

TO: Mr. Nelson

June 5, 1968

FROM: Roberta Jones, USIS

SUBJECT: Conversation with Biafran Pilot in Sao Tome

On June 3 I visited with a Biafran pilot who is flying from Sao Tome to Biafra several times a week. He was in one of the principal hotels (San Jeronimo) with a group of white men who sounded British and American. They were all spending considerable time examining various maps, and three of the Biafrans (I saw about 6 or 7 around the hotel in all) seemed to be having meals together there. I believe they were the crew for the plane I saw later.

The pilot with whom I talked said that they were no longer flying to Port Harcourt, and he gave his mailing address as Cletus Ojibe, Biafra Air Force, Ihiala, Biafra. (Mr. Ojibe was trained as a pilot in West Germany.) He may not have stated it, but he lead me to believe that this was their headquarters. He mentioned that he would write to me and I questioned whether mail could come through, and he assured me it did.

I asked if the Britishers with him were flying planes too, and he said no, but gave no explanation of what they were doing. Later a Portuguese soldier said the British were flying for the Biafrans but where I don't know.

Shortly after my conversation with Mr. Ojibe, the Biafrans began loading parcels into a station wagon.

When our tourist group from Gabon arrived at the airport about 2:30 that afternoon, I saw a camouflaged DC-3 (dark brown with black markings) and presumed it was the Biafran plane. Within a few minutes the station wagon with the Biafrans and their parcels arrived, and the parcels were put on the DC-3. The three from the hotel boarded the plane and revved the engines. There seemed to be some problem. Soon mechanics came out of the hangar (they seemed to be Biafran) and began tinkering with the plane. In the meantime the two apparent Americans arrived with more parcels. They were carrying attache cases and waving documents about (receipts or something of a business-like nature). The only other plane on the field, apart from ours and the Biafrans', was another DC-3 with commercial markings (Schreiner Aviation or something which I didn't think to note). The two Americans later boarded this plane, though they didn't seem about to fly any place.

The Biafrans, both at the hotel and the airport, were coolly professional and self-composed and neither nervous nor self-conscious. The 10 or 15 Portuguese soldiers milling around the airfield, aimlessly kicking a soccer ball about, added a touch of irony.

Mr. Ojibe made the expected disclaimer about the perfidy of the BBC, though he admitted to the bombings of hospitals and schools. He hedged about Port Harcourt. He seemed surprisingly cheerful and confident. He mentioned that few of the Irish

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Encl. No. 1
A-163 from Libreville

missionaries have left, that most are helping in whatever way they can. The mission hospital in Thiala is still run by missionaries (three years ago it was one of the best in the Eastern Region).

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Authority	VND 95/503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/03

DEPT. DISTRIBUTION				DEPARTMENT OF STATE				POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA	
AIRGRAM				Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.				FILE DESIGNATION	
AF-5				AIR POUCH				UNCLASSIFIED	
A-375				HANDLING INDICATOR				NO.	
RS/R	REP	AF	ARA	TO : Department of State				JUN 21 12 23 PM '68	
EUR	FE	NEA	CU	INFO : MOSCOW, LAGOS, Dept. pass CINCMEAFSA				JUN 21 1968	
5									
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L	FBO	AID							
AGR	COM	FRB	INT	FROM : Amembassy ABIDJAN				DATE: June 19, 1968	
LAB	TAR	TR	XMB	SUBJECT : Ivorian Reaction to Soviet Comment (Izvestia) on Biafra					
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD	REF :					
5	3	5	34						
USIA	NSA	CIA	NSC						
10	3	20	6						
SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION				<p>The Ivorian Press Agency published the following editorial June 12, 1968 regarding recent Soviet comments in <u>Izvestia</u> on Biafra:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Izvestia: Bad Faith</u></p> <p>"Monday evening, for the first time, <u>Izvestia</u> commented on the Nigerian crisis by accusing, as was to be expected, "the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers - American and Western - of having provoked the secession of the Eastern Province for the dual purpose of weakening the Nigerian central government and gaining access to the country's oil riches concentrated in this province.</p> <p>"There are two possibilities: either <u>Izvestia</u> is guilty of bad faith or it is totally ignorant of Soviet policy in Africa. It is obviously difficult to make a child aware of reality!</p> <p>"In 1956 Sir Abukar Tafewa Balewa had already observed that the unity of Nigeria, created from many fragments by the British (colonial) administration for selfish reasons, was something difficult to achieve! Have not events proved him to be right?</p> <p>"Today, are not the attempt to destroy Nigeria and the massacres committed in Biafra attributable to certain great powers, of which the USSR is one? Financial interests and the power-struggle for the partitioning of Africa have, in this instance, temporarily muzzled</p>					
POST ROUTING									
TO: Action Info. Initials									
AMB/PO									
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POL									
ECON									
CONS									
ADM									
AID									
USIS									
FILE									
Action Taken:									
Date:									
Initials:									
Drafted by: CONS:RMMaxim:bjt									
Drafting Date: 6-19-68									
Phone No.:									
Contents and Classification Approved by: DCM:LGDrros									
Clearances: POL:RMMaxim:bjt									

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the animosity between capitalists and marxists that is born of the conflict between opposing ideologies. Enemies in principle find themselves united in practice for the purpose of furnishing Nigeria with the arms and men required for the destruction of Biafra. Arms from the British, Soviets, Dutch, Portuguese; arms furnished also by certain African countries that wish to transmit their own rottenness to Nigeria.

"If only these countries and the Soviet Union would halt their shipments of men and arms so that the cannons aimed at the industrious population of Biafra may be silenced. Of course, the lack of experience in public affairs of certain African leaders perhaps prevents them from ruling in their countries without first referring to their tutorial powers. The results of this made themselves felt at Kampala, and it was there that the shameful intrigues of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and their accomplices were brought into the open.

"All across Africa voices have been raised to proclaim aloud what others think and say in whispers. These voices have denounced Russia and its policy towards Biafra. Izvestia cannot be ignorant of this, but its mission is to hide from Soviet public opinion the fact that the negotiations at Kampala were broken off because of the inhuman demands of the Federal delegation which refused to agree to the concessions made by Biafra.

"The single urgent service that Moscow can render to Nigeria and all of Africa is to help stop the fratricidal war that is being waged there. The independence of Biafra is an established fact in the minds and souls of the Biafran people. Neither the military might of Lagos nor the anti-imperialist slogans of the Soviets will be able to destroy this fact. This may be termed tribalism by Izvestia, but it is to be hoped that Lagos will recognize this to be an African reality against which no will for violent destruction can prevail."

MORGAN
gm

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01089 190950Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01,

SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, /130 W

R 181600Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 773
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL IBADAN
DIA
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KADUNA 1089

SUBJECT: ALERT IN KADUNA

1. KADUNA AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBILITY OF AIR RAIDS FROM PLANES REPORTEDLY RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY BIAFRANS AS WELL AS LESS-DEFINED THREAT OF AGENTS-PROVOCATEURS FROM ABROAD. UNDER NEW ALERT SITUATION LAUNCHED OVER THE WEEKEND, CIVIL AND MILITARY POLICE MAINTAIN JOINT PATROLS IN CITY. ALTHOUGH NO OFFICIAL CURFEW HAS BEEN INSTITUTED, CIVIL DEFENSE AUTHORITIES INSTRUCTED TO ENFORCE BLACKOUT BY NEIGHBORHOOD WARNING SYSTEM WITHOUT OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT IN PRESS OR ON RADIO. AID OFFICIAL WHO ATTENDED CIVIL DEFENSE MEETING JUNE 15 IMPRESSED BY DETERMINATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN FACE OF WHAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE RATHER REMOTE THREAT TO CITY.

2. ATTEMPTS BY CONSULATE TO ELICIT FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS LATEST SCARE HAVE PROVED FRUITLESS BEYOND CONFIRMATION BY POLICE OFFICIAL THAT THERE ARE JOINT MILITARY-POLICE PATROLS AND NO SET CURFEW.
DECON 6/18/69

STOKES.

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XR DEF 12-5 Nigeria

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 07418 181853Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, MC 01, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, IGA 00

RSR 01, 158 W

R 181742Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6732
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 7418

SUBJ: BIAFRA REPORTEDLY ASKS GOB TO SUSPEND ARMS SHIPMENTS TO
NIGERIA

REF: THE HAGUE 5724

1. BIAFRA HAS ADMONISHED BELGIUM TO FOLLOW EXAMPLE OF FRANCE,
NETHERLANDS, AND CZECHOSLAVAKIA BY SUSPENDING ARMS DELIVERIES
TO NIGERIA, IN JUNE 15 LE SOIR ARTICLE DATED LINED GENEVA. SWISS-
RUN BIAFRA PRESS AND INFORMATION OFFICE REPORTEDLY HAS JUST OR IS
ABOUT TO INITIATE EFFORTS IN BRUSSELS TO HAVE SUSPENDED ORDERS OF
ARMS AND SPARE PARTS FOR NIGERIA WHICH, ACCORDING TO REPORT,
BIAFRAN OFFICIALS ALLEGE AMOUNT TO SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS.

2. ARTICLE CONTENDS THAT WHILE CERTAIN OF THESE ARMS ARE
MANUFACTURED IN BELGIUM, OTHERS ARE EXPORTED TO BELGIUM FROM
WEST GERMANY AND ITALY, AND RE-EXPORTED TO NIGERIA BY BELGIAN
FIRMS.

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3. BIAFRAN OFFICE STATES THAT IT PLANS TO TAKE SIMILAR STEPS IN BONN AND ROME TO DRAW ATTENTION OF THOSE GOVTS TO THREAT TO PEACE OF POLICY FAVORING ARMS SALES TO COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN WAR.

4. FONOFF (VAN DER ESSEN) INFORMED US TODAY THAT GOB HAS HAD NO COMMUNICATION FROM BIAFRA. VAN DER ESSEN (PROTECT) TELLS US THAT IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR GOB STOPPED ISSUING LICENSES TO BELGIAN FIRMS TO IMPORT ARMS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES FOR ONWARD SHIPMENT TO NIGERIA. HE ADDED THAT ON BASIS LICENSES PREVIOUSLY ISSUED WHICH ARE OF SIX MONTHS VALIDITY, THERE COULD STILL BE A SMALL TRICKLE OF ARMS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES FORWARDED BY BELGIAN FIRMS.

5. VAN DER ESSEN SAID THAT GON FONMIN LUNS HAD IN FACT URGED BELGIUM AND UK TO CEASE ALL ARMS DELIVERIES TO NIGERIA. LUNS' REQUEST, HE NOTED, HAD NOT RPT NOT BEEN WELL RECEIVED BY FONOFF. VAN DER ESSEN WAS AWARE OF AND UNDERSTOOD REASONS FOR PRIME MINISTER DE JONG'S DENIAL OF SUCH REQUEST TO GOB.

6. VAN DER ESSEN ADDED THAT WHILE THERE ARE NO GOVERNMENTAL RESTRICTIONS ON SHIPMENT OF BELGIAN MANUFACTURED ARMS TO LAGOS, IN FACT ONLY SMALL QUANTITIES HAVE BEEN EXPORTED IN RECENT MONTHS. NIGERIAN GOVT HAD SOUGHT TO PLACE ORDERS WITH BELGIAN FIRM FABRIQUE NATIONALE BUT THAT COMPANY WAS UNABLE TO MEET DELIVERY DATES. KNIGHT

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10080 181457Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, ACDA 16, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01, 157 W

P R 181400Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1119
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10080

SUBJECT: FMG ANNOUNCE CAPTURE REBEL AIRCRAFT

1. IN OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED LATE JUNE 17 FMG ANNOUNCED THAT A FIGHTER AIRCRAFT OF THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE "INTERCEPTED A DC7C AIRCRAFT TRAVELING BETWEEN SAO TOME AND PORTUGAL. AIRCRAFT SAID TO HAVE BEEN "ON ITS WAY BACK TO PORTUGAL AFTER DISCHARGING ITS CARGO" IN BIAFRA "WHEN IT WAS CHALLENGED BY AIR FORCE PLANES. PILOT OF THE AIRCRAFT COOPERATED AND BROUGHT IT DOWN SAFELY. EXAMINATION OF CARGO AND FLIGHT DOCUMENTS INDICATED IT BEING USED FOR CARRYING MORE MATERIALS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND SAO TOME. SINCE CAPTURE OF PORT HARCOURT AIRCRAFT HAS BEEN USED TO TAKE MORE MATERIALS TO OTHER AIR STRIPS IN REBEL-HELD AREAS."

2. OFFICIAL RELEASE MAKES NO MENTION OF PILOT OR CREW NATIONALITY, REGISTRATION OF AIRCRAFT, OR OTHER PERTINENT DETAIL.

3. RETUERS STORIES FILED HERE SAY AIRCRAFT LANDED IN LAGOS JUNE 7; AND WAS FLOWN IMMEDIATELY TO KADUNA. ACCORDING REUTERS, FMG "OFFICIAL SOURCES SAID LATER TWO AMERICAN PILOTS ABOARD AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES. THEY DECLINED TO DISCLOSE MENS

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NAMES." STORYAXVXBK # "U.S. EMBASSY SAID THE EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED NO REPRESENTATION FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT" AND ADDED NOTHING MORE KNOWN OF INCIDENT "THAN WAS CONTAINED IN GOVERNMENT STATEMENT."

4. FYI. IN COURSE MAKING INQUIRY OF EMBASSY, REUTHER REP DID NOT RPT NOT INFORM EMBASSY HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY FMG THAT PILOTS WERE AMERICANS. AFTER STORY APPEARED, EMBASSY QUERIED EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHO TELL US PILOTS WERE AMERICANS; LANDED IN LAGOS OVER WEEK AGO; WERE TAKEN TO KANO AT ONCE AWAY FROM THE PRESS; COOPERATED FULLY AND WERE NOT RPT NOT HELD IN CUSTODY BUT "ROYALLY TREATED" BY NIGERIAN AIR FORCE. PILOTS LEFT NIGERIA NEARLY WEEK AGO. PILOTS (D.H. MEHRICK AND V.C. ARNSTEIGER) HAVE MADE NO EFFORT CONTACT EMBASSY. END FYI.

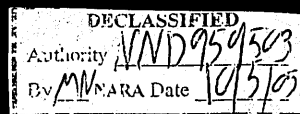
5. IN RESPONSE ANY FURTHER PRESS INQUIRIES, EMBASSY WILL SAY WE READ FMG RELEASE; ASKED FMG FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WHEN RETUERS STORY APPEARED; THAT FMG RESPONDED PILOTS WERE AMERICANS (D.H. MEHRICK AND V.C. ARNSTEIGER) BUT NOT HELD IN CUSTODY AND THEY HAVE LEFT NIGERIA.

GP3 MATHEWS

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED. VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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NR POL 15 DAHOMEY

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01862 181012Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, OIC 05, RSR 01, AID 28,
/133 W

R 180735Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1867
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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BANGUI FOR PALMER

FOREIGN SECRETARY SIDIKOU TOLD DCM 16TH THAT OAU SIX-NATION
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WAS SCHEDULED DISCUSS NIGERIAN CIVIL
WAR IN NIAMEY BEGINNING JULY 5. THIS CONFERENCE WOULD BE
FOLLOWED ON THE NINTH BY CONVERSATIONS WITH THREE DAHOMEAN
EX-PRESIDENTS AND COL. ALLEY.

GP-4 RYAN

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01090 241059Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,
SS 20, NSA 02, USIE 00, RSR 01, /071 W

R 181645Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 774
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1090

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

JOINT CONSULATE/USIS MESSAGE

JUNE 18 NEW NIGERIAN CARRIED PAGE THREE ACCOUNT OF
CRISIS. ARTICLE INCLUDED FULL TEXT OF PIECE BY ONE
B. PILYATSKIN IN JUNE 10 IZVESTIA WHICH WAS CARRIED
BY TASS. PILYATSKIN CHARGED THAT NIGERIAN CONFLICT
"WOULD NEVER HAVE REACHED SUCH ACUTENESS AND WOULD
NEVER ACQUIRE THE PRESENT FORMS IF IT WAS NOT BASED
ON FOREIGN INTERFERENCE," THE CULPRITS IN HIS
PIECE ARE THE "NEOCOLONIALISTS" WHO PROVOKED EASTERN
REGION SECESSION TO GET HOLD OF NIGERIA'S NATURAL
RESOURCES INCLUDING OIL. IN PARTICULAR, HE CITES,
"IMPERIALISTS OF THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES
WHO PROFIT FROM MISFORTUNES OF OTHER COUNTRIES THAT
BEAR A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT TRAGEDY
OF NIGERIA." STOKES

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 04325 141215Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, IO 13, EUR 15,
RSR 01, /144 W

R 141100Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
SECSTATE WASHDC 5962

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4325

SUBJ: BIAFRA-DISAPPEARANCE OF BANJO

1. RUSSELL WARREN HOWE, REPORTER FOR BALTIMORE SUN, TOLD EMBOFF THAT ACCORDING HIS INFO FMG CONCEALED BANJO IN RESIDENCE OF OFFICIAL OF FMG HIGH COMMISSION IN KAMPALA SHORTLY AFTER KAMPALA TALKS BEGAN, IN ORDER HAVE EXCUSE READY FOR BREAKING OFF TALKS BY CHARGING BIAFRANS WITH KIDNAPPING. BANJO STILL CONCEALED BECAUSE FMG UNABLE ARRANGE HIS DEPARTURE WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE UGANDAN AUTHORITIES, WHO REPORTEDLY BEGINNING SUSPECT TRUTH AND TRYING HAVE FMG RESIDENCES KAMPALA TEMPORARILY EXEMPTED FROM DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY FROM SEARCH.

2. LOCAL PRESS CARRIED AFP STORY JUNE 13 REPORTING BOTH GOU AND FMG DENY THAT BODY FOUND KAMPALA RECENTLY IS BANJO'S.

GP-4. HALL

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X DEF 12-5 NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01082 200323Z

85
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, SS 20, GPM 04, SP 02, NSC 10, CIAE 00, INR 07,
P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, 122 W

R 141540Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 769
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
DIA UNN
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA UNN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1082

NEW NIGERIAN FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL JUNE 14 CONDEMNS WESTERN
DO-GOODERS (SPECIFICALLY BRITISH MP,S) WHO HAVE RECOMMENDED
SENDING AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE KEEPING FORCE TO NIGERIA.
EDITORIAL NOTES THAT "PEACE KEEPING FORCE" DIFFERENT FROM
"OBSERVER FORCE" WHICH WAS PROPOSED BY COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARIAT AND WHICH NIGERIA INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO
CONSIDER ACCEPTING AT KAMPALA. BUT NIGERIA SHOULD NOT
ACCEPT PEACE KEEPING FORCE WHICH WOULD "PLACE NIGERIA IN
GRIPS OF INTERNATIONAL POWER CONSORTIUM." EDITORIAL ALSO
CONDEMNS DUTCH DECISION BAN ARMS AND CALLS REPORTED FRENCH
PLANS TO PROVIDE MEDICAL AID TO BIAFRANS. "SUPPORT FOR
OJUKWU,S WAR EFFORTS." STOKES

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**
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PAGE 01 KAOUNA 01079 200329Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, IAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, J 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01,
SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AIO 28, MC 01, IO 13, RSR 01, ACOA 16, 156 W

R 131445Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 768
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL IBADAN
DIA UNN
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA UNN

UNCLAS KAOUNA 1079

SUBJECT: BAN ON FOREIGN ARMS TO NIGERIA

NEW NIGERIAN (KADUNA) FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL JUNE 13 COM-
PLAINS BITTERLY ABOUT DEBATES ON FURTHER ARMS SHIPMENTS
TO FHO NOW GOING ON IN WESTERN CAPITALS. EDITORIAL SAYS
GROUPS WHICH ADVOCATE ARMS BAN ARE "NEOCOLONIALIST FRONT
ORGANIZATIONS" WHICH NOT INTERESTED IN WELFARE OF 180S
OR PEOPLE OF NIGERIA, BUT WHICH WANT SAVE REBELLION AND

PAGE 2 RUDSLK 1079KK UNCLAS
THEREBY MAINTAIN NIGERIAN DISUNITY IN ORDER TO CONTROL
NIGERIANS CAPACITY TO DECIDE THINGS FOR THEMSELVES AND
TO CRIPPLE INDEPENDENCE OF COUNTRY. EDITORIAL CONCLUDES
FHO HAS EVERY RIGHT END REBELLION BY FORCE IF NECESSARY
AND, THEREFORE, TO BUY ARMS WHEREVER AVAILABLE. "THERE
MUST BE OTHER MARKETS. THE TIME TO TURN TO THE NEXT
MARKET IS NOW. NOT WHEN THE VERY EXISTENCE AND THE VERY
INDEPENDENCE OF THIS COUNTRY IS STRANGLING." STOKES

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POL 7 TANZAN
XZ POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01078 132303Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, NIC 01, RSR 01, 099 W

R 131550Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 767
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
ZEN AMCONSUL IBADAN 508

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KADUNA 1078
REF (A) LAGOS 9783 (B) IBADAN 500

SUBJECT: KAMBONA VISIT TO NORTH

1. OSCAR KAMBONA, FORMER TANZANIAN DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER ARRIVED KADUNA JUNE 12 FOR TWO-DAY VISIT. ONLY PUBLIC APPEARANCE ON HIS AGENDA WAS SPEECH AT AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY (ABU), ZARIA. REST OF TIME GIVEN PRIMARILY TO CALLS ON NORTHERN OFFICIALS INCLUDING MILGOV KYARI AND SMG ABDULKADIR. THUS FAR, PRESS HAS NOT GIVEN VISIT HEAVY COVERAGE AND NO SCHEDULE OF APPOINTMENTS HAS BEEN PUBLISHED. KADUNA TV PLANNED INTERVIEW HIM LAST NIGHT, BUT HE DETAINED AT ABU. THEY'RE STILL HOPING CATCH HIM TODAY FOR TAPED INTERVIEW.

2. NEW NIGERIAN REPORTS THAT UPON ARRIVAL KAMBONA MADE STATEMENT TO PRESS SAYING "HE DID NOT KNOW THE NUMBER OF TANZANIANS NOW FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE WITH REBELS, BUT HE WAS SURE THAT A LARGE PART OF MILITARY PROVISIONS MADE BY MRS COUNTRY FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WERE BEING DIVERTED TO REBELS."

3. SPEECH AT ABU APPEARED TO SAME ONE DELIVERED TO NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN LAGOS (REF A).

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TELEGRAM

POL 15 DAHOMEY
XZ POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01830 131553Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO SS 20, GPM 04, NSC 10, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02, SA 01, RSR 01, RSC 01

7061 W

R 131410Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1850
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 1830

AT PALACE RECEPTION FOR PALMER 12TH, DIORI TOLD US FOLLOWING:

1. THREE FORMER DAHOMEAN PRESIDENTS AND COL. ALLEY WOULD BE MEETING IN NIAMEY JUNE 15.
2. RE. EMPEROR'S REQUEST FOR OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION MEETING ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, DIORI STILL WANTED TO WAIT SEE RESULTS HOUPHOUET'S CONTACTS WITH BIAFRANS.
3. DIORI WOULD VISIT SUDAN BEGINNING JUNE 20.

GP-3 RYAN

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SAH 02, SS 20, GPM 04, SP 02, L 03, H 02, P 04, USIA 12, NSC 10,

INR 07, CIA 04, NSA 02, DODE 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, SA 01, IO 13, MC 01,

ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 02, /141 W

R EQYTPZ JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3012
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY AGADOUGOU

S E C R E T PARIS 16235

SUBJ: NIGERIA

1. RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH QUAI INDICATE FRENCH DISCOURAGEMENT WITH LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARD PEACEFUL RESOLUTION NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR DESPITE KAMPALA TALKS AND ENTENTE INITIATIVE (GOWON-DIORI AND HOUPHOUETDIKE MEETINGS). ONLY HOPE FRENCH NOW SEE IS THAT BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN BRING LAGOS TO SOFTEN ITS TERMS BY THREATENING STOP ARMS SUPPLIES, THEREBY OPENING WAY FOR AGREEMENT ON CEASE FIRE. CONTINUED FRENCH INTEREST IN NIGERIAN INDICATED BY OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT JUNE 12 FOLLOWING MEETING CONSEIL DES MINISTRES.

2. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA (GUEURY) AND NIGERIAN DESK OFFICER (PIERRET), DISCUSSED WITH EMBOFF JUNE 11 AND 12 THEIR PRESENT READING OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM. BASIC FRENCH POSITION REMAINS AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, AND THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS RECOGNITION IS BEING CONTEMPLATED. BTH MEN APPEAR RECOGNIZE THAT ADDITIONAL RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA WOULD PROBABLY NOT CONTRIBUTE

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TO SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICT.

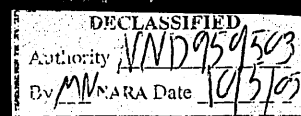
3. PIERRET WENT OVER KAMPALA TALKS BRIEFLY, SAYING THEY HAVE REPORT THAT OBOTE UNHAPPY WITH RIGIDITY OF FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT (FMG) POSITION. HE THEN REVIEWED ENTENTE INITIATIVE ALONG LINES REPORTED OUAGADOUGOU 1381. ACCORDING TO PIERRET, GOWON HAD REQUESTED ENTENTE TO PARTICIPATE IN FORMATION OF AFRICAN PEACE FORCE TO SUPERVISE CEASE FIRE AND HAD SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED IVORY COAST TO SUPPLY TROOPS SINCE THEY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRA. REQUEST APPARENTLY MADE PRIOR MAY 29 ENTENTE SUMMIT (POSSIBLY DURING GOWON-EYADEMA TALKS REPORTED LOME 954) WHICH APPROVED IT AND DECIDED TAKE INITIATIVE IN ARRANGING CEASE FIRE. DIORI WOULD TALK TO GOWON AND PROPOSE FMG DECLARE UNCONDITIONAL CEASE FIRE, WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT BIAFRA WOULD THEN RENOUNCE SECESSION BUT MAKE NO COMMENT ON TWELVE STATE FORMULA. HOUPHOUET WAS TO OBTAIN LATTER COMMITMENT IN TALKS WITH BIAFRAN REPS. BY TIME DIORI MET GOWON, KAMPALA TALKS HAD FAILED AND THERE WAS LITTLE PROSPECT REACHING AGREEMENT ON CEASE FIRE PROPOSAL. MOREOVER, ACCORDING PIERRET, WHEN DIORI ARRIVED AT KADUNA HE FOUND PLANELOAD OF JOURNALISTS FROM LAGOS THERE AND THIS KILLED WHAT LITTLE ENTHUSIASM HE HAD LEFT. DIORI WENT THROUGH MOTIONS WITH GOWON WHOM HE FOUND QUITE INFLEXIBLE. HOUPHOUET SUBSEQUENTLY MET KIKE IN ABIDJAN BUT NOTHING CAME OF THIS MEETING OTHER THAN REAFFIRMATION BIAFRAN REFUSAL RENOUNCE SECESSION.

4. AT THIS STAGE, BOTH GUEURY AND PIERRET CONSIDER BRITISH AS ONLY HOPE, BUT ADMIT THAT EVEN SHOULD DECISION BE TAKEN THREATEN CESSATION ARMS SUPPLY THERE IS ONLY SLIM CHANCE IT WOULD SOFTEN FMG POSITION. MOREOVER, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE REPORT OF JUNE 10 IZVESTIA ARTICLE INDICATES SOVIETS NOW HARDENING THEIR LINE AGAINST BIAFRA AFTER EARLIER INDICATIONS OF SOFTENING. (COMMENT: THIS FITS WITH REPORT CONTAINED LAGOS 9904). HARDER SOVIET POSITION WILL MAKE BRITISH LESS LIKELY CEASE ARMS DELIVERIES AND WOULD VITIATE EFFECT SUCH ACTION EVEN IF UNDERTAKEN.

5. FRENCH MINISTER INFORMATION STATED FOLLOWING JUNE 12 MEETING CONSEIL DES MINISTRES THAT "SITUATION IN BIAFRA" HAD BEEN BRIEFLY CONSIDERED. HE RECALLED THAT FRANCE "HAD NOT INTERVENED IN THIS CRUEL WAR" AND HAD PLACED "TOTAL EMBARGO ON ARMS DELIVERIES TO THAT REGION." ON OTHER HAND, FRANCE IS SUPPORTING ACTION OF RED CROSS IN SENDING "MEDICINE, FOODSTUFFS AND, IF POSSIBLE,

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PUBLIC HEALTH PERSONNEL." (COMMENT: DESPITE ARMS EMBARGO, ARMORED CARS HAVE BEEN DELIVERED OFFICIALLY TO FMG AND SOME MUNITIONS HAVE FOUND WAY VIA PORTUGAL GO BIAFRA).

GP-1 • WALLNER

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01809 121039Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, IO 13, RSR 01, PC 04, /116 W

R 120810Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1838
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 1809

REF: ACCRA 3773 — POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR POL 3 OAU

SUBJ: NIGERIA-BIAFRA

FOREIGN SECRETARY SIDIKOU TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT DIORI
HAS RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE PROPOSING
MEETING OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE NIAMEY UNDERSTAND MEMBERS
OF COMMITTEE NOW BEING POLLED CONCERNING CONVENIENT DATE FOR
MEETING. SIDIKOU INDICATED NIGER IS SUGGESTING JULY 3 OR 4.
SIDIKOU SAID HE UNDERSTOOD BIAFRAN DELEGATION HAS LEFT LONDON
AND IS NOW IN ABIDJAN FOR CONVERSATIONS WITH GOIC.

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09801 121547Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01, 157 W

R 121534Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4119
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 9801

NOFORN

SUB: NIGERIA: SECOND SHEPHERD-MBANEFO MEETING

REF: LONDON'S 9756

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S MOBERLY TELLS US LAST NIGHT'S MEETING DEALT WITH PEACE-KEEPING FORCE. MBANEFO SAID THAT FOLLOWING CEASE-FIRE BIAFRANS WOULD ACCEPT FORCE COMPOSED OF CANADIANS AND SCANDINAVIANS. BRITISH FORCES WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE AS LONG AS UK SHIPPED ARMS TO FMG. RE: RESUMPTION OF TALKS WITH FMG, MBANEFO CONTINUED TO INSIST CEASE-FIRE MUST COME FIRST.

2. MBANEFO IS MAKING SHORT TRIP OUT OF UK TOMORROW (BRITS THINK POSSIBLY TO FRANCE) BUT HAS AGREED TO MEET SHEPHERD AGAIN ON SATURDAY. MOBERLY IS PERSONALLY SKEPTICAL THAT MUCH WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THIS ROUND OF TALKS, BUT HE CONSIDERS IT MILDLY ENCOURAGING THAT MBANEFO IS WILLING TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH SHEPHERD. BRUCE

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 04, EA 10, RSR 01, 140 W

R 121645Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1019
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUQSOHJCAMEMBASSY LUSAKA 133.
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USUN 304
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA
DIA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 9905:

SUBJECT: CASUALTIES IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

1. BRITISH HICOMER JUNE 11 REPORTED HIS ESTIMATE NUMBER
CASUALTIES IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AS FOLLOWS.

2. "STATEMENT ORIGINATED BY HOUPHOUET BOIGNY, THAT CIVIL WAR
HERE HAS CAUSED MORE DEATHS IN TEN MONTHS THAN WAR IN SOUTH
VIETNAM IN FIVE YEARS, HAS APPARENTLY BEEN ACCEPTED AND RE-
PEATED IN BRITAIN-E.G. BY CARDINAL HEENAN. IT MUST BE GROSSLY
WRONG. IN SOUTH VIETNAM I UNDERSTAND THERE ARE ONE AND A

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QUARTER MILLION FIGHTING MEN ON US/SOUTH VIETNAMESE SIDE ALONE WHEREAS HERE FEDERALS HAVE SAY 30-35,000 ACTUALLY IN THE FIELD AND REBELS SAY 16-20,000. AS FOR CASUALTIES CAUSED BY BOMBING THERE CAN BE NO COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ENORMOUS AMERICAN EFFORT (I GATHER THEY ADMIT LOSSES REPEAT LOSSES OF OVER ONE THOUSAND PLANES) AND THE TWO BIAFRAN BOMBERS WHICH DOMINATED FIRST HALF OF WAR AND THE TWO FEDERAL BOMBERS NOW OPERATING.

3. "I HAVE TRIED A GUESS AT FEDERAL MILITARY CASUALTIES. I LEAVE OUT AIR FORCE, AND NAVAL CASUALTIES MUST BE UNDER TWENTY. IN THE ARMY I THINK TOTAL CASUALTIES MIGHT BE ABOUT 6000. ROUND THAT UP TO 10,000 TO BE QUITE ON THE SAFE SIDE AND DIVIDE BY SIX TO PRODUCE NUMBER OF KILLED AND ANSWER IS 1300 WHICH COULD BE CALLED 1500. I HAVE NO IDEA OF BIAFRAN MILITARY CASUALTIES BUT MY DEFENCE ADVISER THINKS THEY MIGHT BE ABOUT THREE TIMES THE FEDERALS. THIS PRODUCES TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE KILLED IN ACTUAL FIGHTING ON BOTH SIDES AS 6000. WHICH MUST BE AT LEAST A THIRD GREATER THAN THE TRUE FIGURE.

4. "CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM BOMBING CANNOT AMOUNT TO MUCH. SINCE BOTH BIAFRAN AND FEDERAL EFFORTS HAVE BEEN ON TINY SCALE AND CASUALTIES IN FLIMSY-BUILT NIGERIAN TOWNS LIKELY TO BE LOWER THAN IN MODERN CITIES. CAN THERE PERHAPS HAVE BEEN AS MANY AS 500 KILLED BY BOMBING ON BOTH FEDERAL AND BIAFRAN SIDE?

5. "CIVILIAN DEATHS FROM DELIBERATE KILLINGS BY BOTH SIDES ARE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO CALCULATE ALTHOUGH THEY MAY BE THE LARGEST CATEGORY. THE TWO SIDES MUST FOR EXAMPLE HAVE KILLED SOME 2000 PEOPLE IN MID-WESTERN STATE ALONE. IT WILL BE A LONG TIME BEFORE WE GET DETAILS OF KILLINGS BY IBOS OF MINORITIES PEOPLES IN SOUTH EAST AND RIVERS. FEDERAL TROOPS HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY KILLED CIVILIANS BOTH IN OCCUPIED AREAS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE AND EVEN IN SOUTH EASTERN STATE ALTHOUGH RELATIONS THERE GENERALLY FRIENDLY. ANXIOUS TO AVOID ANY CHARGES OF UNDERESTIMATING I MIGHT PUT DOWN TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS OF THIS SORT AS 10,000 FEELING CONFIDENT THAT THIS IS AT LEAST TWICE THE PROPER FIGURE.

6. THIS GIVES TOTAL OF 16,500 DEATHS. I AM SURE THIS IS GREATLY EXAGGERATED AND TRUE FIGURE IS UNDER 10,000. CONTRAST HOWEVER HOUPHOUET BOIGNY'S FIGURE OF 200,000 DEATHS.

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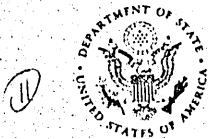
AND RADIO BIAFRAS OF 21 MAY OF 120,000. I REALIZE THAT CARDINAL HEENAN AND CERTAIN OTHER PEOPLE HAVE POUNCED ON HOUPHOUET BOIGNY'S STATEMENT BECAUSE OF ITS ANTI-AMERICAN VALUE WITH RELATION TO VIETNAM BUT THERE MIGHT BE ADVANTAGE IN GETTING RECORD STRAIGHT.

7. FOR SAKE OF COMPLETENESS YOU MIGHT LIKE TO KNOW THAT I CONSIDER THE BIAFRAN CLAIM THAT 30,000 IBOS WERE KILLED IN THE NORTH IN 1966, WHICH IS NOW STANDARD, SHOULD BE DIVIDED BY SIX. AS LATE AS JANUARY 1967 OJUKWU, IN A CONTEXT WHICH SUGGESTED HE WAS GREATLY EXAGGERATING THE FIGURES, ONLY SPOKE OF 7000 KILLED".
GP-4. MATHEWS.

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POL 7 TANZAN
XC POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, 000E 00, BPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PCI 04, RSRI 01, /130 W

R 111305Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHOC 576
INFO DAR ES SALAAM 03
AMCONSUL KADUNA
ZEN/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 681
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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SUBJECT: OSCAR KAMBONA VISITS IBAOAN

REF: LAGOS 9783 - POL 7 TANZAN

1. OSCAR KAMBONA, FORMER TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, VISITED IBADAN JUNE 8-11. HIS VISIT, SPONSORED BY NIGERIAN INSTITUTE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RECEIVED ROUTINE PRESS COVERAGE, BUT FEATURED ON TV. HE VARIOUSLY QUOTED AS CLAIMING NYERERE RECOGNITION "BIAFRA" STAB IN BACK AND ACT INGRATITUDE TO NIGERIA. THAT RECOGNITION WAS ADMISSION NYERERE'S FORMER SECRET DEALINGS WITH REBELS. STATEMENT WHICH SKETCH HEADLINED "TANZANIA GAVE ARMS TO OJUKWU.", THAT NYERERE SUPPORTED REBELLION IN NIGERIA TO FURTHER PERSONAL AMBITION FOR LEADERSHIP AFRICA, AND THAT ZAMBIAN RECOGNITION "BIAFRA" RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM TANZANIA. "IT'S ONLY OUTLET TO SEA." KAMBONA SAID "NIGERIA ENJOYS ABUNDANT GOODWILL OF PEOPLE TANZANIA AND ALL TANZANIANS HOPE NIGERIA WILL SOLVE PRESENT CRISIS IN CONTEXT ONE UNITED COUNTRY AND BE ABLE PLAY ROLE AS THE LEADER OF AFRICA." IN OTHER WORDS, HE SAID WHAT HE WAS EXPECTED TO SAY. HOWEVER, WHEN ASKED WHAT OAU WOULD DO ABOUT STATES RECOGNIZING "BIAFRA" HE WOULD ONLY SAY THEY SHOULD BE CONFRONTED WITH THEIR ERROR AT NEXT OAU MEETING AND BROUGHT INTO CONFORMITY WITH

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ACTION AF 15

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RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, SA 01, RSR 01, AID 28, PC 04,

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R 111115Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY QUAGADUGOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1553
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
CINCSTRIKE
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AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY IBADAN
AMEMBASSY KADUNA
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L QUAGADUGOU 1381

FROM PALMER

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH ME JUNE 10, PRESIDENT LAMIZANA DWELT AT LENGTH NIGERIA PROBLEM AND EFFORTS OF ENTENTE CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION. HE INTIMATED THAT GOWON-DIORI MEETING AT SOKOTO HAD BEEN ARRANGED AT LOME ENTENTE MEETING END OF MAY. HE THEN SAID BIAFRANS ARE MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY IN ABIDJAN TODAY.

2. I REGRETTED RECOGNITION BIAFRA BY FOUR AFRICAN STATES.

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AS THIS SEEMS HAVE RESULTED IN UNREALISTIC STIFFENING OF BIAFRAN RESISTANCE TO MAKING CONCESSIONS DESPITE INCREASINGLY HOPELESS MILITARY SITUATION. LAMIZANA AGREED ADDING THAT IF BIAFRA ALLOWED MAINTAIN SECESSION, NO AFRICAN STATE CAN SURVIVE PRECEDENT. HE THOUGHT MORE REALISTIC ATTITUDES MIGHT BE INDUCED THROUGH COMBINATION HOUPHOUET'S RELATIONSHIP WITH BIAFRA AND DIORI'S CLOSE POSITION WITH GOWON. HE HOPED QUIET, COORDINATED DIPLOMACY THROUGH THESE TWO CHANNELS MIGHT RESULT BRINGING DISPUTANTS TOGETHER. ENTENTE IS, ACCORDING LAMIZANA, WILLING DO ANYTHING BRING PEACE AND UNITY TO NIGERIA. GP-3. SKINNER

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01074 121024Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IU 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, DRM 03,

RSR 01, 141 W

R 111500Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 765
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KADUNA 1074

REF LAGOS 9837, LONDON 9727 *SOC 12-1 UK*
XK POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJECT: CATHOLIC VICAR GENERAL REPUDIATES CARDINAL HEENAN
STATEMENT

1. THE VICAR GENERAL OF THE CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF KADUNA, VERY REVEREND DENIS MINIHANE (IRISH), ACTING IN ABSENCE ARCHBISHOP, ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT JUNE 8 DISASSOCIATING NIGERIAN CATHOLICS FROM STATEMENTS MADE BY CARDINAL JOHN HEENAN (REFTEL) IN LONDON.

2. ACCORDING NEW NIGERIAN (KADUNA), MINIHANE DESCRIBED THIS AS CARDINAL'S OWN PERSONAL VIEWS AND SO "DO NOT REPRESENT VIEWS OF NIGERIAN CATHOLICS IN ANYWAY. MOREOVER, THE STATEMENT WAS NOT IN ACCORD WITH FACTS. IT IS MOST MISLEADING TO IDENTIFY POPULATION CLAIMED AS "BIAFRA" WITH A SINGLE PEOPLE. RATHER, IT IS COMPOSED OF MANY PEOPLES AND JUSTICE DEMANDS THAT RIGHTS OF FIVE MILLION MINORITY PEOPLE OF EASTERN STATES BE RESPECTED." STATEMENT POINTED OUT THAT GOOD OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA WAS AT STAKE IN PRESENT CRISIS, AND THAT IS WAS A COMPLEX CRISIS THAT DID NOT LEND ITSELF TO SOLUTIONS AS SIMPLE AS THOSE PROPOUNDED BY CARDINAL HEENAN.

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, SA 01, AID 28, ACDA 16,

RSR 01, ID 13, /159 W

R 111620Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1011
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9874

SUBJECT: BRITISH GOVT. CONTACTS WITH BIAFRAN NEGOTIATORS

REF: LAGOS 9791; LONDON 9723, 9730

1. REUTERS CARRIED BRIEF ACCOUNT MBANEFO MEETING WITH BRITISH
MINSTATE LORD SHEPHERD THIS MORNING.

2. BRITISH HERE (PROTECT) BELIEVE MBANEFO CARRIES LITTLE OR NO
WEIGHT WITH OJUKWU WHO USING HIM AS RESPECTABLE FRONT MAN WHILE
SUBJECTING HIM TO RIGOROUS RESTRICTIONS IN HIS NEGOTIATIONS FOR
REBELS. HICOMER HUNT POINTS OUT OJUKWU HOLDS BOTH MBANEFO'S
WIFE AND ELDER BROTHER AS "HOSTAGES". LATTER, BELIEVED UNDER
STRICT HOUSE ARREST IF NOT IN PRISON, IS FROM ONITSHA, WHICH
IS HOMETOWN SEVERAL DISSIDENTS WE KNOW (ASIKA, CHUKWURAH, AND
OTHERS WORKING FOR FMG). WHILE NOT MUCH CAN BE MADE OF THIS
YET, IT IS AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT FIRST SERIOUS DIVISION IN
BIAFRAN RANKS MAY COME AS RESULT FURTHER DISAFFECTION IBOS
FROM ONITSHA AREA.
GP-3. MATHEWS.

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0903

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Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 101729Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4070
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 9723

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJ: BRITISH WILL TALK TO MBANEFO

REF: LONDON'S 9662; LAGOS 9791

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S JEBBIT (HEAD, WEST AND GENERAL AFRICA DEPT) HAS BROUGHT US UP TO DATE ON EFFORTS OF BRIT AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT TO BRING ABOUT RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS TO END NIGERIAN CONFLICT.

2. ON FRIDAY, JUNE 7, CO MINISTATE LORD SHEPHERD TALKED WITH ENAHORO AND TRIED TO IMPRESS ON HIM MOUNTING PARLIAMENTARY AND NEWSPAPER PRESSURES ON BRITISH GOVT TO HALT ARMS SUPPLY TO FMG. RECENT DUTCH EMBARGO ON ARMS TRAFFIC TO NIGERIA, PLUS FACT PARLIAMENT RESUMES BUSINESS JUNE 11 AFTER WHITSUN RECESS, SHARPENED BRITISH DILEMMA. SHEPHERD THEN STRESSED NEED FOR FMG TO IMPROVE PUBLIC IMAGE IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE ALREADY EMPLOYED BY HICOMER HUNT IN LAGOS (LAGOS 9791).

3. IN THIS CONTEXT SHEPHERD MENTIONED PRESENCE OF MBANEFO IN LONDON AND ASKED WHETHER FMG WOULD OBJECT TO SHEPHERD'S SEEING HIM IN ORDER DISCOVER IF BASIS EXISTED FOR RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS UNDER COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S AUSPICES. ENAHORO'S REACTION WAS THAT FMG WOULD CERTAINLY OBJECT IF BRITISH DEALT OFFICIALLY WITH MBANEFO, FOR WHATEVER PURPOSE, BUT DESIRED RESULT COULD BE ACHIEVED INFORMALLY IF ARNOLD SMITH INVITED MBANEFO, ENAHORO AND SHEPHERD AROUND FOR QUIET DRINK. ENAHORO COULD THEN EXCUSE HIMSELF, PERMITTING SHEPHERD

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*London 9723
6/10/68*

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TELEGRAM

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AND MBANEFO TO TALK. THIS IDEA WAS, HOWEVER, REJECTED BY MBANEFO WHEN ARNOLD SMITH PUT IT TO HIM. FINALLY, OVER WEEKEND, CO. ASKED HICOMER HUNT TO DISCUSS PROBLEM WITH FMG AND SEE WHETHER THEY WOULD AGREE TO SHEPHERD AND SMITH SEEING MBANEFO WITHOUT ENAHORO ENTERING PICTURE.

4. ACCORDING TEBBIT, CO HAD JUST HEARD FROM HUNT THAT FMG HAD AGREED TO THIS PROPOSAL. NEXT STEP WOULD BE FOR SMITH TO CONTACT MBANEFO. TEBBIT THOUGHT IT VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT MBANEFO WOULD BE HARD TO MOVE. HE COMMENTED THAT SIR LOUIS HAD ASKED TO SEE PRIMIN WILSON AND WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT REGARD INTERVIEW WITH LORD SHEPHERD AS SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE. TEBBIT FORESAW DIFFICULT BARGAINING (AND MORE PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS) AHEAD AND ONLY SLIM POSSIBILITY BOTH SIDES COULD BE PERSUADED TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS. BRUCE

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Summary
Task Force

AF 5
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ACDA 5
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Functional

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Principals

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
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0906

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09837 101932Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, PC 04,

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R 101008Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 989
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AMEMBASSY ROME
AMCONSUL IBAOAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
US MISSION GENEVA 202.

UNCLAS LAGOS 9837

SUBJECT: INFORMATION COMMISSIONER ATTACKS ENGLISH BISHOP

1. LEAD STORY IN LAGOS PAPERS JUNE 10 COMMISSIONER FOR INFORMATION ANTHONY ENAHORO'S ATTACK ON CARDINAL JOHN HEENAN, LEADER OF BRITAIN'S CATHOLICS, MADE IN LONDON OVER WEEKEND.

2. ATTACK MADE IN REPLY TO HEENAN'S SERMON IN WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL A WEEK AGO IN WHICH BISHOP CRITICIZED NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, COMMENTED THAT MORE HAVE DIED IN 10 MONTHS IN NIGERIA THAN IN THREE YEARS IN VIETNAM, AND CALLED FOR DEMONSTRATION AGAINST "THE BIAFRAN MASSACRES."

3. IN HIS STATEMENT, ANAHORO SAID, "I WOULD NOT MIND IF WHAT ARE SAID TO BE FACTS ARE ATTRIBUTED TO REBEL SOURCES, BUT TO ACCEPT CLAIMS AS FACTS, AS CARDINAL HEENAN HAS DONE, IS QUITE OUTRAGEOUS."

4. ENAHORO REMARKED HE AND OTHER FEDERAL CABINET MEMBERS ARE CATHOLICS, IMPLYING THAT INTERPRETATION

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0907

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Encl.
Kampala's A 276

Memorandum of Conversation

Kampala, Uganda
June 1, 1968

PARTICIPANTS: The Honorable, S. N. Odaka, MP and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Uganda and Beauveau B. Nalle, Second Secretary, American Embassy

On Saturday night, June 1, I ran into Sam Odaka at a Charity Ball. In the presence of Bryan Jones, Managing Director of Esso (Uganda) and an American citizen, he brought up with me the present state of Nigerian talks here and possible future steps to be taken to assist in finding a solution. It was quite late and Sam had had his full quota of beer.

The Minister first of all expressed his regret that the talks had failed. He felt no real steps had been taken but on the other hand, until the last moment, no one had left either. He himself had been very active, going back and forth from the Biafrans to the FMG; he gave me the impression he had occasionally bypassed the Commonwealth Secretariat. He stated also that President Obote had taken a very active role, especially in the last days of the conference.

He then launched into a long and flattering commentary on the role of the U. S. on the Nigerian dispute. He said our record in this matter was absolutely clean, that we had done just the right thing and had gained a great deal of respect as a result. He made some obscure references to the oil problem by which, I gather, he was saying that even though there were U. S. petroleum interests in Nigeria we had still maintained the correct attitude.

His next item was to enquire if it might be possible for the U. S. to take up a more active role in the negotiations for a settlement. He said he wished that Assistant Secretary Palmer were here now. He then suggested he and Ambassador Stebbins might have a talk, even on the next day (Sunday). I explained that because of our past history in the Nigerian situation, I thought U. S. direct involvement seemed unlikely; that such involvement would undo all the good that had been done so far. Sam said we were trusted now; I asked if the CS were not equally trusted and he replied it was considered too British. I pointed out that to the best of my knowledge there was only one Briton on the delegation. The rest were from other Commonwealth nations and a Ghanaian was in fact the number two man in the group. He continued to stress the British orientation of the Secretariat, and especially that of Mr. Arnold Smith.

His next comment to me was that his Government was still in close touch with Chief Enahoro and was exploring ways and means with him to re-start talks, somewhere, as soon as humanly possible. He also added that there

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Encl.
Kampala's A 276

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was considerable pressure on the GOU to recognize Biafra. He did not believe the government would succumb.

He asked that his message be passed to Ambassador Stebbins and without giving any more commitment, I said this would be done. He would await my phone call.

(The following morning, the DCM and I discussed the matter with the Ambassador and it was agreed that I would try to get in touch with Odaka to say the Ambassador was ready to discuss the matter with him. We were unable to get through to him but did leave a message with Mrs. Odaka. There has been no response to this call.)

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SERIAL A-276

DATE June 8, 1968

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Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria

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TO : Department of State

INFO : Lagos, Paris, Kampala

JUN 9 10 40 AM 1968

FROM : American Embassy LONDON

DATE: June 7, 1968

SUBJECT: Nigerian Situation

REF : London's 9374

As stated in reftel the Embassy is herewith enclosing for the Department's information copy of an article appearing in the Sunday Times of May 26, and also copy of an article which appeared in the Observer of the same date.

BRUCE

Enclosures:

As stated.

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Drafted by: POL/RA/MS
Clearances: POL/RA/MS
3/5/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL/WHBrubeck

0912

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

The Times, May 26, 1968

Propaganda flows in Africa's sad, mad war

By COLIN CHAPMAN
who last week was
with Colonel Adekunle
(below) and the Nigerian
Federal troops as they
took Port Harcourt



Adekunle, 31, flamboyant and volatile, is typical of the new breed of Sandhurst-trained Nigerian commanders who may prove reluctant to relinquish power. Recently he ordered a Reuters photographer who disobeyed him to be whipped and have his head shaved. Last week he detained two British businessmen as suspected mercenaries; they were released after being beaten up during interrogation.

was intact in Federal Hands; in London other newspapers, believing Biafran sources, were stating the opposite. Radio Biafra puts out amazing reports about black-painted Britons fighting for the Federal troops, and it falsely says it is broadcasting from Enugu, the near-deserted former capital of the eastern region for some time totally cordoned off and in Federal hands.

What of the Federal Government's own propaganda machine? It appears more truthful, but perhaps that is because it is incompetent. The Federal Government promised a group of journalists it would show us the war. But, after four days of meaningless briefings and frustrations, it became clear the nearest we would get to a battle would be to divisional headquarters

where officers swing bottle after bottle of Star Lager until long into the night.

Men from the Ministry of Information suggested we might like to visit the war-free northern states, a village run by Red Cross officers, a radio station, and a power station. At one stage it was suggested we might like to go Biafran-spotting with binoculars from the top of a hill. We were taken as guests to see the Military Governor of Calabar, and unceremoniously frisked and our bags searched.

Having reached Port Harcourt (the men from the Ministry in Lagos dropped out saying they did not want to be "shot at"), communications facilities were non-existent, so we had to hitch back 150 miles under trying conditions without food or water, including a night spent rough in a ramshackle house, a car breakdown in hostile jungle in a tropical thunderstorm, and a four-hour ride on the back of a vegetable lorry.

I am not complaining, just stating that it is perhaps not surprising that the well-oiled Biafran machine achieves bigger headlines because more is known about their side of the front.

The real truth, of course, is not admitted by either side, and it is that the extremely well-equipped Federal troops, using British weapons and Russian planes and bombs, control the main roads and all the key cities except Aba, whereas the rebels have the run of the bush, and are preparing for guerrilla warfare.

This was brought home to me when the car broke down in what had been previously described as Federal territory—the lieutenant with us asked us to keep moving, and to watch the tree tops for snipers. He held his machine gun at the ready, and said there had been several ambushes in the area.

Nigeria now seems a land of false dreams. By military victory, the Federals believe they can force the Ibos into insignificance and into accepting a homeland in one of the 12 semi-autonomous states General Gowon plans.

General Gowon, reluctantly drafted into leadership, does not, one senses, enjoy the war or his power, and promises a return to civilian rule by 1969 or thereabouts. But the Army remains in control of everything, and it is hard to imagine the colonels giving up.

Nigeria, rich in oil minerals, and other resources, has fantastic potential. But regional or tribal chauvinism seems incompatible with the development of a rising population, and an expanding economy, or the fulfilment of the high hopes voiced at independence eight years ago. And it is hard to see an early end to the hatred.

Lagos, Saturday

FOR A fortnight, in this rich green land of wide rivers and steaming jungles, I have been an unhappy witness to the breakup of a nation. General Gowon's Federal Nigerian Army is clearly grinding the secessionist eastern region of Biafra remorselessly into the dust, and the Ibos are fleeing into the bush.

Meanwhile in Kampala, Uganda, leaders of both sides have been searching for a peace settlement that neither side, despite fine words, appears to want.

Tens of thousands of people have died, and only a few prisoners of war have been taken. The scars of this bloodbath will be hard to erase because they are the scars of history. The tribal hatred between the Ibos, the nepotic, progressive people of the east, and the tougher, more basic Yorubas and Itausas and other tribes, is so inflamed that only time can heal the quarrel.

One even detects hatred in the words of sophisticated, Sandhurst-trained Federal Army commanders; yet brutality is not one-sided, and the Ibo has given as good as he has got.

People have barbarously destroyed each other, sometimes long before the Federal Army has arrived. Tales abound of children dumped live down wells, or roasted on a spit, and the smell and sight of rotting bodies tell their own story.

I met a woman whose husband, a university lecturer, had refused to fight for the Biafrans; he and 100 others were rounded up and executed; subsequently the Federal Army were blamed for their deaths.

It is the maddest, saddest war in Commonwealth history, fought with British guns, Russian bombs, and civilian lives. False claims are made every day.

The Biafrans are the best at propaganda. They have sympathetic former British journalists in Biafra who maintain a well-used telex link to a public relations bureau in Geneva. They invite British and American journalists to join hazardous conducted tours to the warfronts, and give them every possible facility for descriptive reporting in a publicity operation built on US Vietnam lines and run by a Los Angeles firm.

Last Saturday I was with Federal troops on the edge of Port Harcourt airfield, and it was undoubtedly in Federal hands. The next day, a Daily Express photographer in my group was on the runway and entered the control tower. At the same time, the Biafrans were claiming full control and took reporters through the bush to a point very near the airfield in an attempt to prove their case. I was able to confirm that the large refinery near Pt Harcourt

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#2
Enclosure to London A-3729

The Observer, May 26

TENS OF thousands of people—not just Ibos—are likely to die in the next few months of Nigeria's civil war unless one of two things happens quickly.

One looks for either an agreement to a cease-fire at the talks now being held in Kampala; or a decision by the Federal Military Government to hold its present lines and not to commit its 80,000 mostly rawly trained soldiers into the Ibo heartland of Biafra, where perhaps seven million people are now encircled.

The Biafrans—poorly armed, unable to withstand the military battering rams against defended towns—desperately need a cease-fire. But they are still unwilling to make the basic concession—renunciation of their secessionist Republic—to ensure it.

Russia wary on arms

The Federals are badly divided about whether or not they should arrange a temporary cease-fire in the hope of promoting a better atmosphere for negotiations, and to stave off recognition by more African countries for the crumbling Biafra Republic. They suspect the Biafrans are interested in a cease-fire only in order to be able to rally their defences.

It is more likely that the Federals might be persuaded to decide unilaterally not to carry the war into the Ibo heartland with its inevitable, huge massacres on both sides. Now that Port Harcourt has been taken, the Federals have achieved their major objective—the 'liberation' of all the five million non-Ibos originally included in the Biafra Republic.

But although the Ibo heartland is completely encircled, the Federal troops have not succeeded in cutting it off altogether from the outside world. Even before the loss of Port Harcourt, the industrious Ibos had completed the construction of four runways, which can be used by medium-size aircraft.

So far, the mainly Egyptian-piloted Russian warplanes have shown a surprising lack of success in putting these strips out of use—although the Ibos have no aircraft of their own, and only very few anti-aircraft guns. Meanwhile, however, the Russians and the Egyptians show signs of increasing reluctance to enlarge their present commitments in Nigeria. Although aerial warfare is expensive, the Russian aircraft are still being shipped in small quantities. But a condition of these shipments by the Russians is that the source should not be disclosed.

What the Russian attitude would be if Britain decided to stop shipment of arms to the Federal side is open to debate. Nor can one rule out a French interest in replacing British shipments. At the moment, de Gaulle is playing both sides of the civil war against each other: the Biafrans' pipeline supply starts in Paris; and the Federals are allowed to buy military supplies on an official basis.

However, in the end the duration of the war will be determined by the fate of the Ibos in the 'liberated' territories more than by anything else. In the triangle between Enugu, the old Ibo capital, Nsukka, the university town, and the Oje River near Onitsha, hundreds of thousands of Ibos are living in the bush, a short distance away from their villages. Red Cross teams find them increasingly willing to return to their villages as they gain confidence from visits to the clinics and distribution of food that they will not be harmed. Their condition—especially children—is pitiable, due to lack of proteins and exposure.

At the sight of the Army, the villagers are quick to return to the bush. Nevertheless, there are villages and farms, even alongside the roads used by the troops, where one begins to see signs of activity.

Small markets on the roadside are beginning to open up. At the hard-fought-over seven-mile crossroads where the road between Enugu and Onitsha goes off to Nsukka, Ibos and troops mingle in the market. Fourteen miles from Nsukka, a village called Amufe is once again bustling with Ibo life. Young men, until recently in the Biafra militia, now co-operate with the Federal police and report infiltrators. With the return of confidence, more people are coming out of the bush; but their numbers are hundreds rather than thousands.

Near by, at Ibakwa, another market has been opened with success. The police inspector in charge of the area was willing to take me along to see it, provided the accompanying Army officer stayed behind. 'They are still too nervous of soldiers,' he explained firmly; and the officer did not demur.

But Enugu and Nsukka are themselves ghost towns, with only a few hundred refugees in each. The official policy since the Ibo counter-attack on Nsukka towards the end of February is not to repopulate the big towns, but to create life in the villages. But they did come back to the villages, Nsukka explained, they would be a source of suspicion, and there would be no employment of any kind for them. The starting point of normality must be with the market and the farms.

Some villagers from around Enugu have plucked up enough confidence to come to the town's meagre market. But a senior officer in Enugu told me: 'If I were an Ibo I would venture forth with great reluctance. There are still too many irresponsible things done by individual groups of soldiers to young Ibos.'

At Onitsha—once the greatest city in Iboland, now a charnel-house—3,726 Ibo men, women and children stayed behind to welcome the Federal troops. They are now housed in an undamaged quarter of the town.

Chief Ebo, one of their leaders, told me: 'We always believed in one Nigeria. The city was divided between those who did so and those who supported secession. Fifteen of our leaders, mainly doctors and lawyers, and Dr Azikiwe's former legal adviser, were carried off to Umuahia as prisoners before the Federal troops arrived. We don't know what their fate has been. Those of us who remained have had no trouble from the troops.'

I was told this in the privacy of his house without any Army officer present.

Massacres on both sides

Across the Niger river in Asaba, 1,400 Ibos have just been released from a refugee camp—administered with the help of a British missionary—to which they were removed after an attempt by Biafrans to infiltrate the area.

The Midwest Ibo area between Asaba and Agbor is teeming with activity, but is still far from normal. At Agbor itself, where thousands of Federal troops are in training, Ibos go about their ordinary affairs without any apparent interference, although there are reports of occasional incidents of looting and arson.

On this evidence it is clear that there is no systematic attempt at exterminating Ibos to justify the charge of genocide. Nevertheless, one often hears Nigerians expressing attitudes about Ibos that would qualify under an article of the UN Convention of Genocide as justifying Ibo fears. And, of course, there have been terrible massacres on both sides in the actual fighting. There seems little doubt that if the Army were brought under proper administration, and if the civilian administration, the police and the Red Cross were given a free hand, the war could be brought to a speedy end.

Will the cease-fire come in time?

by COLIN LEGUM

0914

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Enclosure to London A-3729

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cross were given adequate support, a quick result might be expected in persuading the Ibos to leave the safety of the bush.

But—and this is the big qualifier—the minute there is evidence of Biafran military activity, the troops at once turn indiscriminate suspicion on all Ibos.

Thus the continued military activity by Biafrans is, in the present situation, the greatest single source of danger to the Ibos. It is this fact that makes a cease-fire so necessary.

There is very little evidence that the Ibos in the 'liberated areas' are willing to engage in the kind of guerrilla activity that, one suspected, might have followed the occupation of Ibo lands. No incidents of any kind have been reported in the Nsukka-Enugu area for more than a fortnight.

If the Ibos in the bush were to engage in guerrilla activity, a senior Army officer told me, 'our position would become untenable.'

In the absence of effective Biafran leadership, it is not a safe assumption that the Ibo villager will wage guerrilla warfare to the death. He wants to live; and, seemingly, given a reasonable degree of security, he will take his chance of returning to his village.

Contrary to general belief, the Federal troops do take prisoners. There are thousands of Ibos in prisons around the country. I spoke to three prisoners, recently taken in Asaba. One told me he had surrendered in battle; another, a militia major, was driven by thirst and hunger to give himself up; a third was brought in by his own family, who thought 'the boy would be safer in custody.'

The batman of the OC at Asaba is an 18-year-old captured Ibo. 'I have only changed his name to a non-Ibo one to make things easier for him around the place,' Colonel Alley told me.

In the non-Ibo areas of 'liberated' Biafra, the situation is quite different. All the Ibos have fled. And the former minority peoples are adamant that they will not have the Ibos back again, notwithstanding assurances to the contrary by their own leaders.

In these areas there is ample evidence of Ibo brutalities against suspicious, or non-cooperative, minority people. At Calabar, before the Biafrans left, they took out and shot five young intellectuals whom they had kept in prison. I heard this from an American Negro radiologist whose husband, a university lecturer, was one of those killed.

The stories one hears are typical of a civil war, with little quarter being given on either side while the fighting goes on.

But if the fighting is to stop, it is going to need considerable powers of leadership by the Federal leader, General Gowon. He is surrounded by more hawks than doves.

One of the most influential hawks is Colonel Benjamin Adekunle, Nigeria's best fighting soldier, who took Port Harcourt in 1967. One can quote him as saying he said 'that the

Army's next job is to march into the remaining Ibo towns—Umuahia, Owerri and Aba. Only then can we set about creating a unified Nigeria. But I agree there must be no unnecessary killing.'

What one is concerned about is the degree of 'necessary' killing that would be involved in this kind of warfare, which Colonel Adekunle himself admits might go on for nine months longer.

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Authority VMD 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL 50-31

DATE: 6/7/68 MSG NO.: 9291 TYPE: TE

FROM: Lagos TO: State

SUBJECT: Nigerian Policies in Civil War

DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ☒ OTHER: ☐

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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Authority VND 954503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/03

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 7 NIGERIA

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NIGERIA

Kaduna 1052
6-6-68

CONFIDENTIAL 430

PAGE 01 KADUNA 01052 121008Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, GRM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, TO 13, PC 04, AID 28, ASR 01, E 15, SAH 03,

/159 W

R 061740Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 761
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY BATHURST
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
DIA
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL KADUNA 1052

SUBJECT: EMIR OF KANO MISSION TO SENEGAL AND REMARKS ON
FMG COMPROMISE POSITION ON STATES

1. EMIR OF KANO, ALHAJI ADD. BAYERO, TOLD ME JUNE FIVE HE
JUST BACK FROM MISSION TO SEE SENGHOR (ADD BAYERO FORMERLY
NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO SENEGAL) AND HEAD OFF POSSIBLE
RECOGNITION BIAFRA BY SENEGAL. BAYERO SAID HE ALSO WENT
TO GAMBIA, LIBERIA, AND GHANA. DID NOT SPECIFICALLY
MENTION SERRA LEONE ALTHOUGH HE MAY HAVE GONE THERE AS
WELL. EXPRESSING OPINION RECOGNITION BIAFRA WILL MAKE
MUCH TROUBLE WITHIN OAU, BAYERO SAID HE BELIEVED THE MISSION
HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL, BAYERO SAID HE RETURNED TO NIGERIA FROM
MONROVIA TOGETHER WITH LIBERIAN VICE PRESIDENT.

2. INDICATION THAT BAYERO ENTRUSTED WITH FMG MISSIONS
MAY LEAD GREATER INTEREST TO HIS EARLIER OBSERVATION TO
MEIQHAT IF BIAFRA HAD RENOUNCED SECESSION AT KAMPALA.

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Authority VND959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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AGR	COM	FRB	INFO : IBADAN, KAMPALA, KADUNA, LONDON, DIA, CINCSRIKE/CINCMEAFSA			
INT	LAB	TAR	FROM : Amembassy LAGOS		DATE: June 6, 1968	
TR	XMB	AIR	SUBJECT : Nigerian Delegation Member Comments on Kampala Peace Talks			
ARMY	CIA	NAVY	REF :			
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The Director of U.S. AID in Nigeria, Mr. Michael Adler, on June 4 called on Mr. Omo-Bare, Federal Commissioner for Rehabilitation, to discuss relief problems. Mr. Omo-Bare had just returned from Kampala, where he had been an alternate member and adviser of the Nigerian delegation. Presumably he had been included in the delegation because, as a Mid-Westerner and former Deputy Inspector General of Police, he had known and worked with many Ibos in pre-war days and probably hoped to be able to re-establish personal relations with some members of the "Biafran" delegation.

The enclosed Memorandum of Conversation indicates that Omo-Bare, who is Administrator concerned about practical relief and rehabilitation problems, was quite disenchanted with the speechmaking at Kampala. He was also disappointed that Sir Louis Mbanefo would not chat with him informally.

Other and higher-ranking members of the Nigerian delegation did, however, succeed in talking with Mbanefo and other "Biafrans" privately and unofficially. We understand that on those occasions, and before Ojukwu's peremptory instructions to break off talks were received, some of the "Biafrans" such as Dr. Eni Njoku privately indicated some flexibility and willingness to negotiate.

MATHEWS
 GROUP 3
 Downgraded at 12-year intervals,
 not automatically declassified.

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FORM 4-62 DS-323
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Drafted by: POL:AEWellons:mjr 6/6/68
 Clearances: ECON:WGT Jones (indraft) AID:Madler (substance)

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 Authority: NND 959503
 By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		POL 16 BIAFRA AR POL 27 BIAFRA FOR RM USE ONLY	
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OSD	USIA	NSA				
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		NSC 6				

TO : Department of State

INFO : Amembassy KAMPALA, LONDON
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN, KADUNA

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

SUBJECT : Ojukwu Speech

REF : Lagos 9539

DATE: Jun 6, 1968

On May 29 at 11:00 p.m., Colonel Ojukwu spoke on the radio on the anniversary of the declaration of Biafran independence (full text in FBIS N300850). The speech opened with congratulatory words to the Biafrans on the completion of an eventful and difficult year of independence. Ojukwu said, "the experience of this first year of sovereignty has been as that of a century."

Ojukwu reviewed the Biafran position on the events immediately preceding independence and noted that some had claimed the Biafrans would be crushed in 48 hours. He sketched the course of the war, dwelling on the resistance of the Biafrans to invasion. He hailed the invasion of the Mid-West and stated it had not just strategic justification but was also "to protect our kith and kin on the west of the Niger who have suffered like us from the Nigerian atrocities of 1966." Military assistance from Britain and Russia was said to have given Nigeria the means to bomb and to invade Biafra.

As to the pursuit of the war in the face of Nigerian advances, Ojukwu repeated what he has said on other occasions; i.e., that the war is entering a second phase in which "everyone owes a clear duty to this republic to insure that the enemy has neither peace nor respite until he leaves every inch of our territory where he has set foot. Young men will have to leave their refugee camps for training in order to operate against the enemy in their own homeland. The pace of return to our native provinces, towns, and villages must be quickened into a flood which will sweep away the enemy. The enemy lines of communication must be attacked and destroyed. He must be allowed no rest, comfort, or safety. Enemy agents and collaborators must not be allowed to thrive on our soil. They must be made to live in constant fear and peril."

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by: RLD
POL:RJDaley:BC 6/4/68

Clearances:

Contents and Classification Approved by:
POL:AEWellons AEW

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By: MW NARA Date: 10/5/05

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Page 2

Lagos A-664

In contrast to the opening sections of the speech which dwelled on the war, its ensuing hardships and a call to guerrilla activity, Ojukwu emphasized in the middle sections social, economic, and political accomplishments and plans for the future. A new system of administration and the rule of law were said to have been established. Law and order have been maintained in a nation at war and under attack.

In the economic field Ojukwu stated that Biafra had overcome the ruin of the old currency by the FMG by issuing her own currency and that the new country was working on plans to deal with foreign companies, some of which had assisted the Lagos government.

Special emphasis in the speech was given to the plight of many Biafran citizens as a consequence of the FMG's policies. Once again the FMG was accused of waging a "war of aggression and genocide." Nigeria's economic blockade and "indiscriminate bombing of civilian population" caused further hardships.

Turning from the war, Ojukwu drew attention to the principles of the struggling nation. Respect for the individual, protection of personal property, membership in the community, and respect for law and justice--are all Biafran principles. As to the form of government, he added "Communal democracy or government by consensus is our own formula for good democratic government. Under this system, which has been with us for centuries, all political authority is derived from the community and political decisions are based not merely on the view of the majority as in conventional democracy but on consensus." Looking towards the future with optimism he declared, "Biafra ... will insure that the people have the opportunity to participate fully in the management of public affairs."

Turning from present difficulties, the Biafran leader addressed himself to questions of social justice, education, health, welfare and labor. As an example of the program which Ojukwu proclaims for the future, the paragraph on education is quoted below:

"The nation is committed to a judicious and liberal scholarship policy whereby no son of ours with the talent and the ability to profit from further education will be denied of the opportunity through lack of means. In the same spirit, the Government will aim at equipping every citizen through education and training for full and useful service to the community. No citizen thus equipped will be prevented unjustly from taking and obtaining the employment for which he is qualified or from receiving adequate reward for his work."

Ojukwu uttered an oral hymn of praise to the qualities of the Biafran farmer, artisan, civil servant, professional, etc. He insisted on high

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By	MV NARA
Date	10/3/05

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By	NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
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SECRET 722

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, SR 01, ORM 03,
AID 28, PC 04, ACDA 16, SCA 02, SCS 04, IO 13, /170 W

R 061645Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 969
INFO AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T LAGOS 9792

FREETOWN FOR ASST SECRETARY PALMER

SUBJ: VIEWS OF GOWON AND ARIKPO ON WAR AND PEACE IN NIGERIA

REF: LAGOS 9741

1. IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTEL, GOWON AND ARIKPO COMMENTED ON FOLLOWING TOPICS DURING JUNE 6 CONVERSATIONS.

2. USE OF FMG AIR POWER. GOWON SAID HE HAD ALREADY ISSUED ORDERS FOR DRASTIC REDUCTION IN AIR RAIDS IN QTE IBO HEARTLAND UNQTE. WHEN I EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION AND HOPE HE WOULD ANNOUNCE THIS PUBLICLY, HE RESPONDED HE WOULD DO SO AS SOON AS HE WAS SURE ALL FIELD COMMANDERS HAD RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD ORDERS.

3. PEACE TALKS. OWON REITERATED FMG READY RESUME TALKS WITH REBELS AT ANY TIME. HE DOUBTS OJUKWU WILL PERMIT RESUMPTION IN NEAR FUTURE AND BELIEVES OTHER REBEL LEADERS STILL TOO COWED BY OJUKWU TO DEFY HIM. HE RECOGNIZES, HOWEVER, THAT IBO FEAR OF MASS SLAUGHTER SUPPORTS OJUKWU'S INTRANSIGENCE. FMG PLANS AIR DROP OF LEAFLETS AND OTHER UNSPECIFIED MEASURES TO ATTEMPT TO REASSURE IBOS.

4. RECOGNITION OF QTE BIAFRA UNQTE. GOWON IS VERY BITTER AT

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NYERERE FOR FIRST RECOGNITION OF QTE BIAFRA UNOTE. HE OPINED THAT WITHOUT RECOGNITIONS OJUKWU WOULD HAVE STEPPED DOWN AND OTHER REBEL LEADERS WOULD HAVE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS PEACE TALKS. HE CLAIMS TO HAVE INFORMATION FROM GRAHAM-DOUGLAS, PROMINENT RIVERS LAWYER ONCE OJUKWU'S ATTORNEY GENERAL WHO WAS LIBERATED IN CAPTURE AT PORT HARCOURT, TO SUPPORT THIS VIEW.

5. CEASE FIRE. GOWON STATED FLATLY HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO CEASE FIRE UNTIL REBELS AGREED RENOUNCE SECESSION. HE SAID OJUKWU WOULD ONLY USE RESPITE OF CEASE FIRE TO STRENGTHEN HIS OWN POSITION. HE OBVIOUSLY FEARS THAT IN LULL OF CEASE FIRE OTHER GOVERNMENTS, POSSIBLY INCLUDING FRANCE, MIGHT RECOGNIZE QTE BIAFRA UNOTE.

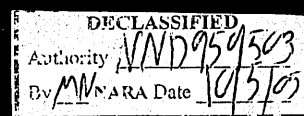
6. MILITARY OPERATIONS. GOWON SAID FIRST PRIORITY FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS IS TO COMPLETE LIBERATION OF RIVERS STATE. HE ANTICIPATED THIS MAY REQUIRE SEVERAL WEEKS DURING WHICH PRESSURE, BUT NO MAJOR OPERATIONS, WILL ALSO BE MAINTAINED ON OTHER FRONTS. HE HOPES THAT FMG SUCCESS IN RIVERS STATE WILL BRING REBELS BACK TO CONFERENCE TABLE BUT IS NOT SANGUINE. IF REBELS WILL NOT RESUME PEACE TALKS, HE SEES NO ALTERNATIVE TO ATTACKS FURTHER INTO IBOLAND WITH PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF TAKING OJUKWU, DEAD OR ALIVE. HE DOES NOT RELISH THIS PROSPECT BUT SAID WITH EMOTION THAT HE WOULD RATHER DIE HIMSELF THAN LET OJUKWU SUCCEED IN HIS REBELLION.

7. RELIEF OPERATIONS. GOWON SAID HE HAD DONE HIS BEST TO ASSURE ICRC REPRESENTATIVES OF FMG WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN PRACTICABLE ARRANGEMENTS TO GET RELIEF SUPPLIES TO WAR AREAS INCLUDING TERRITORY UNDER REBEL CONTROL. I TOLD HIM OF PROVISION OF USAF AIRCRAFT TO TRANSPORT ICRC SUPPLIES TO LAGOS AND OTHER U.S. MEASURES TO ASSIST ICRC AND NIGERIAN RED CROSS IN RELIF OPERATIONS. HE AND ARIKPO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION.

8. ARMS FROM BRITAIN. ARIKPO TOLD ME FMG CONCERNED AT PRESSURE ON HMG TO CEASE SUPPLY OF MILITARY MATERIEL TO FMG. HE INTIMATED THAT IF HMG GAVE IN TO THESE PRESSURES, REACTION HERE WOULD BE VERY ADVERSE TO UK AND WEST GENERALLY. (UK HICOM -- PROTECT SOURCE -- TOLD ME THIS MORNING PRESSURES ON HMG WERE VERY GREAT AND WHILE HE DOES NOT EXPECT

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 09792 071828Z

CHANGE IN HMG POLICY, CHANGE IS POSSIBLE.)

9. FMG EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IMAGE WITH WORLD CHURCHES. ARIKPO TOLD ME THAT IN ADDITION VISIT HIS WIFE TO PRESBYTERIANS IN U.S., CANADA AND UK, PROMINENT NIGERIAN CHURCH LEADERS OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS WERE NOW TRAVELING ABROAD TO PRESENT FMG CASE TO CHURCH GROUPS.

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MATHEWS

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09677 050925Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SAH 03,
CCO 00, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, PC 04, SR 01, ORM 03, /114 W

O P 050840Z JUN 68 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 902
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9677

PASS USIA FOR IBS NEWS COORDINATOR

SUBJECT: REPORT OF BIAFRAN ARMY ATROCITIES

REF: LAGOS 9675

1. REFTEL SENT LAST NIGHT REPORTED TESTIMONY
OF MIMKAWEST IBO GIRL ABOUT ATROCITIES ALLEGEDLY
COMMITTED BY FEDERAL TROOPS IN MID-WEST NEAR
ASABA. OTHER ASPECTS ATROCITY STORIES DESERVE
CONSIDERATION IN ORDER PUT DETAIL INTO PERSPECTIVE.

2. SAME IBO GIRL TOLD CORRESPONDENTS YESTERDAY
AFTERNOON THAT PEOPLE IN VILLAGES AFFECTED IN
MID-WEST ARE GENERALLY AFRAID OF BIAFRAN SOLDIERS
MARAUDING BECAUSE IT WOULD RESULT IN ADDITIONAL
ROUNDS OF RETALIATION. AS IT IS, PEOPLE IN AREA

WHO SUFFERED MOST WISH ALL SOLDIER WOULD STAY
AWAY.

3. SAME IBO GIRL RESPONDED TO MOST QUESTIONS IN
GOOD ENGLISH, BUT AT TIMES SHE HESITATED AND TENDED
TO LOOK TO CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT PERSONNEL FOR

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GUIDANCE, PARTICULARLY ON MATTERS WHICH MIGHT AFFECT HER SAFETY. IT OBVIOUS SHE BEING PROTECTED AND HELPED BY CATHOLICS, WHO HOPE TO GET HER OUT

OF COUNTRY SOON WITH NIGERIAN PASSPORT TO STUDY ABROAD.

4. LAGOS PAPERS JUNE 5 CARRY PARTS OF REPORT BEING ISSUED BY FMG ON ISSUES DISCUSSED AT KAMPALA PEACE TALKS. THESE INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF ALLEGED ATROCITIES BY REBEL IBOS AGAINST NON-IBO MINORITY TRIBES IN EASTERN REGION. EVIDENTLY DR. IKPENE, AN EFIK FROM CALABAR, WHO WAS MEMBER FMG DELEGATION, ACCUSED "BIAFRANS" OF COMMITTING GENOCIDE AGAINST NONBIADBOS. HE ALLEGED THAT AS LONG AGO AS JUNE, 1967, AN IBO MAN IN CALABAR HELD A MASS MEETING AND WAS QUOTED AS SAYING: "YOU CALABAR PEOPLE SAY YOU WANT A SEPARATE STATE OF YOUR OWN. LET ME TELL YOU THAT BY THE TIME THE FEDERAL TROOPS COME HERE TO ENFORCE THIS MAD IDEA THERE WILL BE NO ONE LEFT BUT GRASS AND WEEDS FOR WE SHALL HAVE FLATTENED YOUR LAND AND KILLED ALL YOU EFIKS."

5. FOREGOING POINTS MENTIONED TO SHOW THERE IS MORE THAN ONE SIDE TO THESE STORIES. NIGERIANS LIKELY PRODUCE VARIOUS REPORTS OF THEIR OWN TO COUNTERACT ANY ATROCITIES OF "BIAFRAN" ORIGIN. THEREFORE, DESIRABLE DEPARTMENT URGE VOA USE EXTREME CAUTION IN HANDLING ANY OF THESE STORIES.

6. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS MENTIONED REFTEL HAVE APPOINTMENT WITH GENERAL GOWON AT 1200 HOURS GMT TODAY, TO DISCUSS

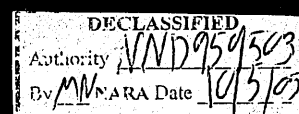
EXPULSION BRUCE OUDEN AND LATEST REPORTS ATROCITIES.

FULL REPORT WILL FOLLOW SOONEST THEREAFTER.

GP-3. OLSON

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The seal of the United States Department of State is located at the top center of the page. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a circular emblem containing a constellation of stars. The entire seal is encircled by the text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" at the top and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" at the bottom, separated by small stars.

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PAGE 01 ACCRA 03773 041159Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10.

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/141 W

R 041110Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4089
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ACCRA 3773

SUBJECT: OAU AND NIGERIA

IN LIGHT BREAKDOWN KAMPALA TALKS, COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ANIN STATES GHANA IS PROPOSING THAT MEMBERS OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA REASSEMBLE TO DISCUSS WHETHER ANYTHING USEFUL COMMITTEE COULD DO AT THIS STAGE. ANIN SAID GHANA IS SUGGESTING NIAMEY AS SITE FOR MEETING. NO DATES MENTIONED.

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/00

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SAH 03, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,
L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01,
/106 W

P 041830Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 901
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA 190

CONFIDENTIAL 9675

PASS: USIA FOR IBS NEWS COORDINATOR

SUBJ: REPORT OF FEDERAL ARMY ATROCITIES IN MID-WEST

1. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN LAGOS MET AT CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT (PROTECT) THIS AFTERNOON TO HEAR FIRST-HAND TESTIMONY BY MID-WEST IBO GIRL (AGE 22) ABOUT ATROCITIES ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED BY FMG TROOPS IN AREA OF ISHIAGU, VILLAGE 15 MILES SOUTH ASABA. GIRL WAS BROUGHT TO LAGOS IN RED CROSS VEHICLE, ONLY METHOD

CONSIDERED SAFE BY MID-WEST IBOS. SHE LIVED MOST OF LIFE IN NORTH WHERE HER FATHER WAS CIVIC SERVANT AND MOVED WITH HER FAMILY TO MID-WEST IN OCTOBER 1966. SHE HAS HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AND SPOKE INTELLIGENTLY ABOUT HER EXPERIENCES.

2. CORRESPONDENTS INCLUDED BBC, AP, AFP, VOA, AND DZECH NEWS AGENCY. BBC AND VOA RECORDED GIRL'S TESTIMONY. SUBSTANCE OF HER STORY BEING HELD BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT CORRESPONDENTS AND WITH KNOWLEDGE FMG, UNTIL 1300 GMT JUNE 5.

3. GENERAL GOWON EXPECTED TO MEET TOMORROW MORNING WITH CORRESPONDENTS WHO WROTE TO HIM ABOUT EXPULSION CORRESPONDENT BRUCE OUDS LAST WEEK. IT POSSIBLE ATROCITIES STORY MAY BE DISCUSSED WITH GOWON SAME TIME. THEREFORE TREATMENT GIVEN

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STORY BY PRESS COULD DEPEND ON GOWON'S VIEWS AND EXPLANATIONS. VOA CORRESPONDENT KELLY PLANS PHONE FULL DETAILS VOA NEWSROOM WASHINGTON EARLY AFTERNOON JUNE 5.

4. STORIES RECOUNTED BY GIRL COVER INCIDENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN FEBRUARY AND APRIL, AS FOLLOWS: A) GIRL SAID SHE WITNESSED FEDERAL SOLDIERS TORTURING AND KILLING FOUR MEN AND TWO WOMEN AT ST. MARY'S MODERN SCHOOL AT ISHIAGU IN MID-FEBRUARY. MEN AND WOMEN WERE STRIPPED AND, WHILE STILL ALIVE, THEIR SKIN WAS SCRAPED OF THEIR BACKS WITH BROKEN BEER BOTTLES. RED PEPPER WAS RUBBED IN WOUNDS AND PERSONS LEFT IN SUN TO DIE. SHE SAW ONE WOMAN WHO SURVIVED, BUT ASSUMES ALL OTHERS DIED. B) IN APRIL, ABOUT ONE WEEK AFTER REBELS RAIDED AREA FROM ASABA TO OGWASHI-UKU, FEDERAL SOLDIERS RETURNED TO ISHIAGU AND ACCUSED PEOPLE OF COLLABORATING WITH REBEL RAIDERS. ATTITUDE FEDERAL TROOPS IS THAT REBELS COULD NOT HAVE GONE SO FAR INTO MID-WEST WITHOUT ACTIVE COOPERATION IBO VILLAGERS IN AREA. THEREFORE THEY HAVE THREATENED DIRE RETRIBUTION ON ANY VILLAGE WHICH IN FUTURE HELPS "BIAFRANS." ON ABOUT APRIL 22, FEDERAL TROOPS DUG TRENCH AROUND ISHIAGU, SHOT UP VILLAGE WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, SET FIRE TO HOUSES AND BURIED BODIES IN TRENCH. IBO GIRL SAID UP TO 400 KILLED AND ABOUT 450 WOMEN AND CHILDREN SURVIVORS ARE NOW IN CAMP RUN BY NORWEGIAN RED CROSS OFFICER AT OGWASHI-UKU.

4. COMMENT: RELEASE OF FOREGOING ATROCITY STORIES, WHETHER TRUE OR NOT, LIKELY HAVE STRONG EMOTIONAL IMPACT IN MANY QUARTERS. IT PROVIDES AMMUNITION FOR CRITICS OF FMG WHO SEEKING BRING ABOUT EITHER UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE OR FORCE BRITISH INTO STOP SUPPLYING ARMS TO FMG. FMG LIKELY BE MOST UNHAPPY AND COULD LASH OUT AT CORRESPONDENTS OR TAKE SOME OTHER UNREASONABLE ACTION. IN ANY CASE, IT WILL NOT HELP EFFORTS ARNOLD SMITH AND OTHERS TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED AGAIN. CURIOUS QUESTION THAT ARISES, WHICH NIGERIANS MAY POINT OUT, IS WHY THIS GIRL WAS PRODUCED AND HER STORIES RELEASED AT THIS LATE DATE, SO LONG AFTER THE EVENT. PERHAPS STORIES TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH VIIT OF ICRC REP HOFFMAN, BUT IT LIKELY STORIES WILL HINDER RATHER THAN HELP HOFFMAN'S EFFORTS TO REESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH FMG WHICH SO DESPERATELY NEEDED AT THIS STAGE IN ORDER FACILITATE RELIEF OF ALL VICTIMS THIS CIVIL WAR. URGE DEPARTMENT PROVIDE GUIDANCE TO VOA ON HOW TO USE, OR NOT USE, THESE ATROCITY STORIES.

GP-3. QLSO

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ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, RSR 01, 053 W

R 031435Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 567
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL KADUNA
CINCLANT UNN
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA UNN
DIA UNN

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SUBJECT: "WATCH OUT FOR REBELS"

1. WESTERN NEWSPAPERS JUNE 3 CARRIED FRONT
PAGE STORIES CAPTIONED: "WEST TOLD TO BE VIGILANT" (SKETCH);
AND "WATCH OUT LURKING REBELS" (TRIBUNE). LAGOS BASED

TIMES CARRIED SAME STORY PAGE THREE UNDER HEADLINE
"WATCH OUT FOR REBELS - ADEBAYO WARNING TO ONDO PEOPLE."
TEXT ALL STORIES ALMOST VERBATIM TEXT JUNE 2 WESTERN
MINISTRY INFORMATION RELEASE. PERTINENT SECTIONS RELEASE
(UNESSENTIAL WORDS ELIMINATED) FOLLOWS:

2. "MILITARY GOVERNOR WESTERN STATE, BRIGADIER ADEBAYO,
HAS CALLED ON PEOPLE OF STATE PARTICULARLY THOSE IN AND
AROUND ONDO DIVISION TO KEEP WATCH ON SUSPICIOUS ELEMENTS
IN THEIR MIDST TO AVOID DANGER HARBOURING REBEL INFILTRATORS

IN AREA. BRIGADIER ADEBAYO WHO WAS YESTERDAY ADDRESSING
CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF ONDO SAID THAT REBELS HAD NOT SHOWN
SIGNS CHANGE OF HEART AND THAT SINCE WAR WAS STILL ON, IT
WOULD BE RISKY TO BE CARELESS. HE SAID HE HOPED
THAT REBELS WOULD SOON REALIZE THEIR FOLLY AND SEE
REASON WITH THEIR FELLOW NIGERIANS."

3. COMMENT: THIS STATEMENT MAY HAVE EFFECT OF MAKING

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ONDO YORUBAS UNEASY.

AS REBEL LINES WERE AT ONE TIME
REPORTED JUST SOUTH OF ONDO AT TIME OF DEEPEST PENETRATION INTO
WEST AFTER INVASION MID-WEST TOOK PLACE LAST AUGUST.
CONSULATE NOT AWARE ANY REBEL INFILTRATORS
PRESENTLY REACHING WEST OR OF ANY REBELS HAVING
REMAINED BEHIND WHEN AREA CLEARED LAST SEPTEMBER.

4. COLONEL OBASANJO SECOND DIVISION (REAR) ON MAY 29
CONFIRMED INCREASED INFILTRATION INTO MID-WEST.
BDHC SMALLWOOD HAS LEARNED THAT APPROXIMATELY TWO
ARMY BATTALIONS SENT TO MID-WEST FROM IBADAN LAST
WEEK. THESE PROBABLY SAME TROOPS REPORTED
IBADAN 485 (NOTAL).
MITHOEFER

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TR DEF 194K NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09593 011551Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

R 011245Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 855
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9593

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT:
BRITISH POLICY ON NIGERIAN ARMS

1. AS RESULT PUBLIC PRESSURE ON HMG, BRITISH ARE ASSESSING THEIR POLICY FURNISHING ARMS TO NIGERIA. AS FIRST STEP THEY HAVE INSTRUCTED THEIR DATT HERE TRY UNOBTUSIVELY DETERMINE PROPORTION ARMS NOW BEING FURNISHED TO NIGERIA BY BRITAIN AS COMPARED MILITARY EQUIPMENT OBTAINED FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

2. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TALKED WITH NIGERIAN ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER BALEWA IN LONDON MAY 28. BALEWA AWARE BRITISH UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE, PARTLY BECAUSE EFFECT BIAFRAN PROPAGANDA, BUT EVEN MORE BECUASE GENUINE BRITISH PUBLIC CONCERN AT HUMAN SUFFERING IN REBEL AREAS.

3. BALEWA ACCEPTED HMG EXPOSITION THEIR GROWING NEED TAKE PUBLIC OPINION INTO ACCOUNT RE ARMS SUPPLIES TO FMG, BUT MADE POINT THAT WHILE ACTUAL ARMS FURNISHED IMPORTANT IN MILITARY SENSE, EVEN MORE VITAL WAS PUBLIC BRITISH POLITICAL SUPPORT. HE SAID ANY CHANGE "WOULD VERY SERIOUSLY CONCERN FMG." BALEWA GUARDED ON HOW HANDLE SITUATION IF KAMPALA TALKS BROKE DOWN (AS

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THEY NOW HAVE). HE HAD NO PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS TALK ON THIS SUBJECT, BUT COULD SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT FMG DID NOT RPT NOT WISH CARRY WAR TO IBO VILLAGES. FMG PREFERRED CAMP ON BORDERS IBOLAND UNTIL REBELS CAME TO THEIR SENSES.

4. BRITISH HERE ALSO TELL US (PROTECT SOURCE) THEY HAVE DISCRETION RAISE WITH GOWON THE POINT THAT FMG WILL BE VULNERABLE INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM UNTIL CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATED. IN THIS CONNECTION HMG SUGGESTED GOWON MIGHT WANT CONSIDER TAKING INITIATIVE BY ANNOUNCING CEASE-FIRE PROVIDED REBELS EVACUATE REST OF RIVERS STATE AND AGREE TO EMBARGO ON IMPORTATION ARMS. BRITISH REALIZE THIS LEAVES FOR LATER SETTLEMENT KEY QUESTION OF SECESSION, BUT WOULD STOP FIGHTING AND PUT FMG IN STRONG POSTURE. (COMMENT. ALTHOUGH THIS IDEA FIRST BROACHED BY FMG PRIOR BREAKUP KAMPALA TALKS, WOULD HAVE MERIT IN ACHIEVING LIMITED BUT HIGHLY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE STOPPING BOODSHED WHILE LEAVING BOTH SIDES ROOM FOR FURTHER MANEUVER. EMBASSY BELIEVES IT UNLIKELY FMG WOULD AGREE SINCE WOULD PROVIDE REBELS WITH TIME TO REGROUP AND POSSIBLY RESUPPLY THROUGH EMERGENCY AIRSTRIPS.)

5. LAGOS PAPERS JUNE 1 CARRY REPORT FROM LONDON THAT LORD SHEPHERD TOLD PARLIAMENT HMG WOULD NOT STOP SENDING ARMS TO NIGERIA UNLESS IT GENERALLY AGREED TO HALT ALL OUTSIDE SUPPLIES TO BOTH SIDES CIVIL WAR. BRITAIN WOULD COOPERATE ON A "GENERAL STANDSTILL" BUT IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR UK TO TAKE ANY UNILATERAL INITIATIVE.

GP-3. OLSON

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S/PM 1
M/WP 1
G/PM 1
G/DP 1

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SY 5
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SCA 5
SCS 5
SCI 5

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NSA 4

Other

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AA/VN 2
AA/EA 2
AA/NESA 2

PC 5
VP 5
AEC 3
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, IO 13,

ACDA 16, RSR 01, /161 W

R 010930Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4398
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DAR ES SALAAM 3410

SUBJ: TANZANIAN COMMENT ON KAMPALA TALKS BREAKDOWN

1. TANU PARTY PAPERS "NATIONALIST" AND "UHURU" CARRY EDITORIAL JUNE 1 BLAMING BREAKDOWN OF KAMPALA TALKS ON FEDERAL SIDE. FMG IS ACCUSED OF INSISTING ON "BIAFRAN" SURRENDER AND OF NOT AGREEING TO CEASE FIRE WHICH WOULD STOP KILLING.

2. "NATIONALIST" SAYS AFRICA MUST COME TO AID OF SECESSIONISTS AGAINST FEDERAL "FEDERALISTIC FANTICISM WHICH IS BEING PROPELLED BY NEO-COLONIALISM." "AFRICA AND HUMANITY MOST ESPECIALLY HOLD BACK THE WICKED HANDS OF THE BRITISH NEO-COLONIALISTS AND THE DISCREDITED RUSSIAN REVISIONIST NEO-IMPERIALISTS WHO TO THIS DATE ARE CONTINUING TO SUPPLY DEADLY WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION FOR THE ANNIHILATION OF THE BIAFRAN PEOPLE. THE WORLD CANNOT SILENTLY CONDONE THE ANNIHILATION OF A PEOPLE. BIAFRA MUST BE HELPED."

EXEMPT BURNS

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INFO CIAE 00,000E 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 04,

RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,SAH 03,SA 01,IO 13,AID 28,PC 04,

RSR 01,130 W

R 010800Z JUN 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1786
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS NIAMEY 1706

FOLLOWING ARE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF DIORI'S PRESS CONFERENCE
UPON RETURN NIAMEY FRIDAY FROM ENTENTE MEETING LOME:

1. ENTENTE MEETING. MEETING PRIMARILY ECONOMIC, DESIGNED
ASSURE "CLOSER COLLABORATION ESPECIALLY INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL
MATTERS".

2. NIGERIA. "THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS BETWEEN US REGARDING
NIGERIA. PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET RECOGNIZED THE SECESSIONIST
PROVINCE BECAUSE HE THOUGHT THIS RECOGNITION WOULD BE THE BEST
WAY TO REACH A NEGOTIATED PEACE. AS FOR US WE HAVE CHOSEN
ANOTHER WAY, THAT OF SUPPORTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IN
FACT, HOWEVER, OUR OBJECTIVE IS IDENTICAL; ONLY OUR METHODS
ARE DIFFERENT". REGARDING POSSIBLE OCAM MEETING ON NIGERIA,
DIORI SAID THIS WAS NOT OUT OF QUESTION BUT VERY DIFFICULT GET
14 CHIEFS OF STATE TOGETHER FOR THIS PURPOSE. HE SAID ENTENTE
MEETING HAD MADE NO DECISIONS THIS REGARD.

3. SENEGAL. DIORI STRESSED HIS COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH
POLICY BEING FOLLOWED BY SENGHOR ADMINISTRATION SINCE NO
DIALOGUE COULD BE ESTABLISHED UNTIL PUBLIC ORDER

RESTORED. RYAN

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INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 22, USIA 12, SAH 03, SA 01, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01,

/141 W

R 011225Z JUN 68
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 757
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL IBADAN
DIA
CINCSRIKE/CINCMFAFSA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KADUNA 1044

SUBJECT: HASSAN KATSINA ON KAMPALA, MILITARY CAMPAIGN,
STATES, INTERNAL SECURITY, AND U.S. POSITION

1. PAID FAREWELL CALL TODAY ON BRIGADIER HASSAN KATSINA,
NEWLY-APPOINTED ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, WHO IS MOVING WITH
FAMILY TO LAGOS JUNE 4.

2. KATSINA HAD LITTLE TO SAY ON KAMPALA EXCEPT TO DEPLORE
FACT THAT CONFERENCE "ALL FOR NOTHING." HE SAID HE GLAD
NIGERIAN DELEGATION HAD STAYED BEHIND AND HE PLEASED WITH ITS
PERFORMANCE AT CONFERENCE. HE SAID HE HAD COUNSELED
GOWON TO BE CAREFUL OF STATEMENTS HE MIGHT MAKE BEFORE RETURN
OF NIGERIAN DELEGATION WHO WILL BE IN BETTER POSITION TO
COMMENT.

3. KATSINA SEEMS GENUINELY REGRET CONTINUATION OF
FIGHTING. HE ASCRIBES REBEL INTRANSIGENCE TO IBO INCLINATION
TO BLINDLY FOLLOW A LEADER WHO CAN SPELLBIND THEM WITH
WORDS. IN HIS VIEW WITHDRAWAL OF BIAFRAN DELEGATION MEANS
THEY ARE GOING HOME TO LEAD IBO PEOPLE INTO "SUICIDE, NOT
GENOCIDE." REFERRING TO OJUKWU'S SPEECH AFTER FALL OF PORT
HARCOURT TELLING PEOPLE RETURN TO HOMES AND CARRY ON.

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